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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM
THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO
THE ABDICATION OF JAMES THE SECOND,
1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq.,

2228
A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD II.

WEAKNESS OF THE KING.—HIS PASSION FOR FAVORITES.—PIERS GAVASTON.—DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS.—MURDER OF GAVASTON.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.—HUGH LE DESPENSER.—CIVIL COMMOTIONS.—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING.—INSURRECTION.—THE KING DETHRONED.—MURDERED.—HIS CHARACTER.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS IN THIS REIGN.

THE prepossessions entertained in favor of young Edward kept the English from being fully sensible of the extreme loss which they had sustained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne, and all men hastened with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his son and successor. This prince was in the twenty-third year of his age, was of an agreeable figure, of a mild and gentle disposition, and, having never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognosticate tranquillity and happiness from his government. But the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and showed him to be totally unqualified for that perilous situation in which every English monarch during those ages had, from the unstable form of the constitution, and the turbulent dispositions of the people derived from it, the misfortune to be placed. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and he himself had been obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive, but, before the death of the late king, had sallied from his retreat, and again collected his followers, had appeared in the field, and had obtained by surprise an important advantage over Aymer de

Valence, who commanded the English forces.¹ He was now become so considerable as to have afforded the King of England sufficient glory in subduing him, without incurring any danger of seeing all those mighty preparations made by his father fail in the enterprise. But Edward, instead of pursuing his advantages, marched but a little way into Scotland, and, having an utter incapacity and equal aversion for all application or serious business, he immediately returned upon his footsteps and disbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct that the authority of the crown, fallen into such feeble hands, was no longer to be dreaded, and that every insolence might be practised by them with impunity.

The next measure taken by Edward gave them an inclination to attack those prerogatives which no longer kept them in awe. There was one Piers Gavaston, son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, who had honorably served the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the Prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master by his agreeable behavior, and by supplying him with all those innocent though frivolous amusements which suited his capacity and his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person, was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage, distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. By all these accomplishments he gained so entire an ascendancy over young Edward, whose heart was strongly disposed to friendship and confidence, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recall him. But no sooner did he find himself master, as he vainly imagined, than he sent for Gavaston, and, even before his arrival at court, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of Richard, King of the Romans.² Not content with conferring on him those possessions which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, he daily loaded him with new honors and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the Earl of Gloucester; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity

¹ Trivet, p. 346.

² Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1. Heming, vol. i. p. 243. Walsing. p. 96.

but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendor this object of his fond affections.

The haughty barons, offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth, though reputable, they despised as much inferior to their own, concealed not their discontent, and soon found reasons to justify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behavior, Gavaston displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation, and deemed no circumstance of his good fortune so agreeable as its enabling him to eclipse and mortify all his rivals. He was vain-glorious, profuse, rapacious; fond of exterior pomp and appearance; giddy with prosperity; and as he imagined that his fortune was now as strongly rooted in the kingdom as his ascendant was uncontrolled over the weak monarch, he was negligent in engaging partisans who might support his sudden and ill-established grandeur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the English nobility by his superior address; in every conversation he made them the object of his wit and raillery. Every day his enemies multiplied upon him, and naught was wanting but a little time to cement their union and render it fatal both to him and to his master.³

It behooved the king to take a journey to France, both in order to do homage to the Duchy of Guienne and to espouse the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, though unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage.⁴ Edward left Gavaston guardian of the realm,⁵ with more ample powers than had usually been conferred; ⁶ and, on his return with his young queen, renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favorite of which every one so loudly complained. This princess was of an imperious and intriguing spirit; and finding that her husband's capacity required, as his temper inclined, him to be governed, she thought herself best entitled, on every account, to perform the office; and she contracted a mortal hatred against the person who had disappointed her in these expectations. She was well pleased, therefore, to see a combination of the nobility forming against Gavaston, who, sensible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new insults and injuries.

³ T. de la More, p. 593. Walsing. p. 97.

⁴ T. de la More, p. 593. Trivet, cont. p. 3.

⁵ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 47. Ypod. Neust. p. 499.

⁶ Brady's App. No. 49.

[1308.] Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king and first prince of the blood, was by far the most opulent and powerful subject in England, and possessed in his own right, and soon after in that of his wife, heiress of the family of Lincoln, no less than six earldoms, with a proportionable estate in land, attended with all the jurisdictions and power which commonly in that age were annexed to landed property. He was turbulent and factious in his disposition; mortally hated the favorite, whose influence over the king exceeded his own; and he soon became the head of that party among the barons who desired the depression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gavaston. Both sides began already to put themselves in a warlike posture. The licentiousness of the age broke out in robberies and other disorders, the usual prelude of civil war; and the royal authority, despised in the king's own hands, and hated in those of Gavaston, became insufficient for the execution of the laws and the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A Parliament being summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue, and were there enabled to impose their own terms on the sovereign. They required the banishment of Gavaston, imposed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the bishops, who never failed to interpose in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer in the kingdom.⁷ Edward was obliged to submit,⁸ but even in his compliance gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favorite. Instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,⁹ attended him to Bristol, on his journey thither, and, before his departure, conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England.¹⁰ Gavaston, who did not want bravery, and possessed talents for war,¹¹ acted during his government with vigor against some Irish rebels, whom he subdued.

Meanwhile the king, less shocked with the illegal violence which had been imposed upon him than unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return: as if success in that point were the chief object of his government. The high

⁷ Trivet, cont. p. 5.

⁹ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 92. Murimuth, p. 39.

¹¹ Heming, vol. i. p. 248. T. de la More, p. 593.

⁸ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 80.

¹⁰ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 87.

office of hereditary steward was conferred on Lancaster; his father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other concessions; Earl Warrenne was also mollified by civilities, grants or promises. The insolence of Gavaston, being no longer before men's eyes, was less the object of general indignation; and Edward, deeming matters sufficiently prepared for his purpose, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gavaston a dispensation from that oath which the barons had compelled him to take that he would forever abjure the realm.¹² He went down to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland; flew into his arms with transports of joy; and, having obtained the formal consent of the barons in Parliament to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection. Gavaston himself, forgetting his past misfortunes, and blind to their causes, resumed the same ostentation and insolence, and became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility.

The barons first discovered their animosity by absenting themselves from Parliament; and finding that this expedient had not been successful, they began to think of employing sharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had scarcely been any national ground of complaint except some dissipation of the public treasure; though all the acts of maladministration objected to the king and his favorite seemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a hall or assembly than commotions in a great kingdom, yet such was the situation of the times that the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reasons of a total alteration in the constitution and civil government. Having come to Parliament, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themselves entirely masters; and they presented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a chosen junto the whole authority both of the crown and of the Parliament. The king was obliged to sign a commission empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve persons who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom and regulation of the king's household; consenting that these ordinances should thenceforth and forever have the force of laws; allowing the ordainers to form associations among

¹² Rymer, vol. iii. p. 167.

themselves and their friends for their strict and regular observance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the security of the Church, and the honor and advantage of the king and kingdom.¹³ The barons, in return, signed a declaration in which they acknowledged that they owed these concessions merely to the king's free grace, promised that this commission should never be drawn into precedent, and engaged that the power of the ordainers should expire at the time appointed.¹⁴

[1311.] The chosen junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and Parliament for their confirmation in the ensuing year. Some of these ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of justice: such as those requiring sheriffs to be men of property, abolishing the practice of issuing privy seals for the suspension of justice, restraining the practice of purveyance, prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin, excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue, ordering all payments to be regularly made into the exchequer, revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the case of vexatious prosecutions. But what chiefly grieved the king was the ordinance for the removal of evil counsellors, by which a great number of persons were, by name, excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gavaston himself was forever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Other persons, more agreeable to the barons, were substituted in all the offices. And it was ordained that, for the future, all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, should be appointed by the baronage in Parliament; and the power of making war or assembling his military tenants should no longer be vested solely in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility.

Edward, from the same weakness, both in his temper and situation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commission to the barons, was led to give a parliamentary sanction to their ordinances; but, as a consequence of the same character, he *secretly* made a protest against them, and declared that, since the commission was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and

¹³ Brady's App. No. 50. Heming. vol. i. p. 247. Walsing. p. 97. Ryley, p. 526.

¹⁴ Brady's App. No. 51.

kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both were to be held as not ratified and confirmed.¹⁵ It is no wonder, indeed, that he retained a firm purpose to revoke ordinances which had been imposed on him by violence, which entirely annihilated the royal authority, and, above all, which deprived him of the company and society of a person whom, by an unusual infatuation, he valued above all the world and above every consideration of interest or tranquillity.

As soon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gavaston from Flanders, which that favorite had made the place of his retreat, and, declaring his banishment to be illegal and contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom,¹⁶ openly reinstated him in his former credit and authority. [1312.] The barons, highly provoked at this disappointment, and apprehensive of danger to themselves from the declared animosity of so powerful a minion, saw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable; and they renewed, with redoubled zeal, their former confederacies against him. The Earl of Lancaster was a dangerous head of this alliance; Guy, Earl of Warwick, entered into it with a furious and precipitate passion; Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the constable, and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great accession of power and interest; even Earl Warrenne deserted the royal cause, which he had hitherto supported, and was induced to embrace the side of the confederates.¹⁷ And as Robert de Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, professed himself of the same party, he determined the body of the clergy, and consequently the people, to declare against the king and his minion. So predominant at that time was the power of the great nobility that the combination of a few of them was always able to shake the throne; and such a universal concurrence became irresistible. The Earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to Newcastle.¹⁸ He flew thither in pursuit of him, and Edward had just time to escape to Tinnmouth, where he embarked and sailed, with Gavaston, to Scarborough. He left his favorite in that fortress, which, had it been properly supplied with provisions, was deemed

¹⁵ Ryley's *Placit. Parl.* pp. 530, 541.

¹⁶ Brady's *App.* No. 53. Walsing. p. 98.

¹⁷ Trivet, cont. p. 4.

¹⁸ Walsing. p. 101.

impregnable; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raising an army which might be able to support him against his enemies. Pembroke was sent by the confederates to besiege the castle of Scarborough; and Gavaston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner.¹⁹ He stipulated that he should remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavors should, during that time, be mutually used for a general accommodation; that if the terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it; and that the Earl of Pembroke and Henry Percy should, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of these conditions.²⁰ Pembroke, now master of the person of this public enemy, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury, where, on pretence of other business, he left him, protected by a feeble guard.²¹ Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the castle. The garrison refused to make any resistance. Gavaston was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle. The Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel immediately repaired thither;²² and without any regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favorite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner.²³

The king had retired northward to Berwick when he heard of Gavaston's murder; and his resentment was proportionate to the affection which he had ever borne him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene, and he made preparations for war in all parts of England. But, being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he soon after hearkened to terms of accommodation; granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and as they stipulated to ask him publicly pardon on their knees,²⁴ he was so pleased with these vain appearances of submission that he seemed to have sincerely forgiven them all past injuries. But as they still pretended, notwithstanding their lawless conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the establishment of their former ordinances as a necessary security for that purpose, Edward told them that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of such of

¹⁹ Walsing. p. 101.

²⁰ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 324.

²¹ T. de la More, p. 593.

²² Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 44.

²³ Walsing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 593. Trivet, cont. p. 9.

²⁴ Ryley, p. 538. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 366.

those ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This answer was received, for the present, as satisfactory. The king's person, after the death of Gavaston, was now become less obnoxious to the public; and as the ordinances insisted on appeared to be merely the same with those which had formerly been extorted from Henry III. by Montfort, and which had been attended with so many fatal consequences, they were, on that account, demanded with less vehemence by the nobility and people. The minds of all men seemed to be much appeased; the animosities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, now united under its head, would henceforth be able, it is hoped, to take vengeance on all its enemies; particularly on the Scots, whose progress was the subject of general resentment and indignation.

Immediately after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses, in which he intended to have sheltered his feeble army; and, supplying his defective strength by superior vigor and abilities, he made deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He chased Lord Argyle and the chieftain of the Macdowals from their hills, and made himself entirely master of the high country. He thence invaded with success the Cummins in the low countries of the north. He took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained some new accession of territory; and, what was a more important acquisition, he daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and enlisted under his standard every bold leader, whom he enriched by the spoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded him in all his enterprises. Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, distinguished himself by acts of valor; and, the terror of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this situation Edward had found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government, disjoined by a long continuance of wars and factions. The interval was very short. The truce, ill observed on both sides, was at last openly violated;

and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. [1313. Robert, not content with defending himself, had made successful inroads into England, subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of that country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at last roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh, but being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to retreat, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the appearing union of all the parties in England, after the death of Gavaston, seemed to restore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

[1314.] Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing, at one blow, this important enterprise. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony; he enlisted troops from Flanders and other foreign countries; he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish as to a certain prey; he joined to them a body of the Welsh, who were actuated by like motives; and, assembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army which, according to the Scottish writers, amounted to a hundred thousand men.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valor, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous and best appointed armies. The castle of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by Edward Bruce. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, after an obstinate defence, was at last obliged to capitulate, and to promise that if before a certain day, which was now approaching, he were not relieved, he should open his gates to the enemy.²⁵ Robert, therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which

²⁵ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 481.

he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable, and made the necessary preparations for their reception. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, where he had a hill on his right flank and a morass on his left; and, not content with having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded by the more numerous army of the English, he foresaw the superior strength of the enemy in cavalry, and made provision against it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them, and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with turf.²⁶ The English arrived in sight on the evening, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry, where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his adversary to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body.

The Scots, encouraged by this favorable event, and glorying in the valor of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day. The English, confident in their numbers, and elated with former successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge; and the night, though extremely short in that season and in that climate, appeared tedious to the impatience of the several combatants. Early in the morning Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The Earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardor of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy.²⁷ This body of horse was disordered. Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain. Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves decisive, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which seemed to be marching leisurely in order to surround them; and they were distracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of wagoners and sumpter-boys whom Robert had col-

²⁶ T. de la More, p. 594.

²⁷ Ibid.

lected; and having supplied them with military standards, gave them the appearance, at a distance, of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect: a panic seized the English; they threw down their arms and fled; they were pursued with great slaughter, for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick; and the Scots, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity,²⁸ and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. The king himself narrowly escaped by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the Earl of March; and he thence passed by sea to Berwick.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independence of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the greatest overthrow that the English nation, since the conquest, has ever received. The number of slain on those occasions is always uncertain, and is commonly much magnified by the victors; but this defeat made a deep impression on the minds of the English; and it was remarked that, for some years, no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert, in order to avail himself of the present success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition; he besieged Carlisle, but that place was saved by the valor of Sir Andrew Harcla, the governor; he was more successful against Berwick, which he took by assault; and this prince, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests on the English. [1315.] He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of six thousand men, into Ireland; and that nobleman assumed the title of king of that island; he himself followed soon after with more numerous forces. The horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government made them, at first, fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers; but a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremities, and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by the English, commanded by Lord Bermingham; and these

²⁸ Ypod. Neust. p. 501.

projects, too extensive for the force of the Scottish nation, thus vanished into smoke.

Edward, besides suffering those disasters from the invasion of the Scots and the insurrection of the Irish, was also infested with a rebellion in Wales, and, above all, by the factions of his own nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, insulted his fallen fortunes, and endeavored to establish their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaster and the barons of his party, who had declined attending him on his Scottish expedition, no sooner saw him return with disgrace than they insisted on the renewal of their ordinances, which, they still pretended, had validity; and the king's unhappy situation obliged him to submit to their demands; the ministry was new-modelled by the direction of Lancaster;²⁹ that prince was placed at the head of the council; it was declared that all the offices should be filled, from time to time, by the votes of Parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons;³⁰ and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavored to put itself in a better posture of defence against the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terrified with the progress of these public enemies; on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown; Lancaster himself was suspected, with great appearance of reason, of holding a secret correspondence with the King of Scots; and though he was intrusted with the command of the English armies, he took care that every enterprise should be disappointed, and every plan of the operations prove unsuccessful.

All the European kingdoms, especially that of England, were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime minister, so well understood at present in all regular monarchies; and the people could form no conception of a man who, though still in the rank of a subject, possessed all the power of a sovereign, eased the prince of the burden of affairs, supplied his want of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greatest nobles by their submission to his temporary authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold, himself, the reins of government: he had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for serious business; he was sensible of his own defects, and necessarily sought to be governed; yet every favorite whom he successively chose

²⁹ Ryley, p. 560. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 722.

³⁰ Brady, vol. ii. p. 122, from the Records, App. No. 61. Ryley, p. 560.

was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station; he was the object of envy to the great nobility; his character and conduct were decried with the people; his authority over the king and kingdom was considered as an usurpation; and unless the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the Earl of Lancaster, or some mighty baron whose family interest was so extensive as to be able alone to maintain his influence, he could expect no peace or tranquillity upon the throne.

The king's chief favorite, after the death of Gavaston was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of a noble family.³¹ He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward, but was destitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous station to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the same name, and who, by means of his son, had also attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected through all his past life for wisdom, valor, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his minion.³² But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser, than the turbulent Lancaster and most of the great barons regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin.³³ They first declared their discontent by withdrawing from Parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities against him.

[1321]. The king, who set no limits to his bounty towards his minions, had married the younger Spenser to his niece, one of the co-heirs of the Earl of Gloucester, slain at Banockburn. The favorite, by his succession to that opulent family, had inherited great possessions in the marches of Wales;³⁴ and, being desirous of extending still further his influence in those quarters, he is accused of having committed injustice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who had also married two sisters of the same family. There was

³¹ Dugd. Baron. vol. i. p. 389.

³² T. de la More, p. 594.

³³ Walsing. p. 113. T. de la More, p. 595. Murimuth, p. 55.

³⁴ Trivet, cont. p. 25.

likewise a baron in that neighborhood called William de Braouse, Lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray, his son-in-law ; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the Earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered immediately in possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seizin from the crown ; but Spenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigor of the feudal law, to seize Gower as escheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him.³⁵ This transaction, which was the proper subject of a lawsuit, immediately excited a civil war in the kingdom. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms ; Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces ; the two Rogers de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, with many others, disgusted for private reasons, at the Spensers, brought a considerable accession to the party ; and, their army being now formidable, they sent a message to the king requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine the younger Spenser, and menacing him, in case of refusal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They scarcely waited for an answer, but immediately fell upon the lands of young Spenser, which they pillaged and destroyed, murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses ;³⁶ they thence proceeded to commit like devastations on the estates of Spenser the father, whose character they had hitherto seemed to respect ; and, having drawn and signed a formal association among themselves,³⁷ they marched to London with all their forces, stationed themselves in the neighborhood of that city, and demanded of the king the banishment of both the Spensers. These noblemen were then absent, the father abroad, the son at sea, and both of them employed in different commissions ; the king therefore replied that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of making answer.³⁸ Equity and reason were but a feeble opposition to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved

³⁵ Monach. Malmes.

³⁶ Murimuth, p. 55.

³⁷ Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 280, from the register of C. C. Canterbury.

³⁸ Walsing. p. 114.

in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving in to the Parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by menaces and violence, a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against these ministers.³⁹ This sentence was voted by the lay barons alone; for the Commons, though now an estate in Parliament, were yet of so little consideration that their assent was not demanded; and even the votes of the prelates were neglected amidst the present disorders. The only symptom which these turbulent barons gave of their regard to law was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings;⁴⁰ after which they disbanded their army, and separated in security, as they imagined, to their several castles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and his authority so contemptible that every one thought himself entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen, having occasion soon after to pass by the castle of Leeds, in Kent, which belonged to the Lord Badlesmere, desired a night's lodging, but was refused admittance; and some of her attendants, who presented themselves at the gate, were killed.⁴¹ The insult upon this princess, who had always endeavored to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the young Spenser, was an action which nobody pretended to justify; and the king thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, assemble an army and take vengeance on the offender. No one came to the assistance of Badlesmere, and Edward prevailed.⁴² But having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to take off the mask, to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spensers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, contrary to the tenor of the great charter, passed without the assent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the estate of barons.⁴³ Still the Commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the start of the barons—an advantage which, in those times, was commonly decisive; and

³⁹ Tottle's Collect. part 2, p. 50. Walsing. p. 114.

⁴⁰ Tottle's Collect. part 2, p. 54. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 891.

⁴¹ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 89. Walsing. pp. 114, 115. T. de la More, p. 595. Murimuth, p. 56.

⁴² Walsing. p. 115.

⁴³ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 907. T. de la More, p. 595.

he hastened with his army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons in those parts endeavored to appease him by submission; ⁴⁴ their castles were seized, and their persons committed to custody. But Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; received the promise of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolph, Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas; ⁴⁵ and, being joined by the Earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king, who had collected an army of thirty thousand men, and was superior to his enemies. Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, and endeavored to defend the passages of the river; ⁴⁶ but, being disappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no military genius, and whose personal courage was even suspected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies. ⁴⁷ He was pursued by the king, and his army diminished daily, till he came to Boroughbridge, where he found Sir Andrew Harelle posted with some forces on the opposite side of the river, and ready to dispute the passage with him. He was repulsed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the Earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels was disconcerted; Lancaster himself was become incapable of taking any measures either for flight or defence, and he was seized, without resistance, by Harelle, and conducted to the king. ⁴⁸ In those violent times the laws were so much neglected on both sides that, even where they might, without any sensible inconvenience, have been observed, the conquerors deemed it unnecessary to pay any regard to them. Lancaster, who was guilty of open rebellion, and was taken in arms against his sovereign, instead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the sentence of death against him, was condemned by a court-martial, ⁴⁹ and led to execution. Edward, however little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and employed against the prisoner the same indignities which had been exercised, by his orders, against Gavaston. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade with-

⁴⁴ Walsing. p. 115. Murimuth, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Walsing. p. 115.

⁴⁷ T. de la More, p. 596. Walsing. p. 116.

⁴⁹ Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 291, from the Records.

⁴⁵ Kymer, vol. iii. p. 958.

⁴⁸ Ypod. Neust. p. 504.

out a bridle, a hood was put on his head, and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and there beheaded.⁵⁰

Thus perished Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most potent barons that had ever been in England. His public conduct sufficiently discovers the violence and turbulence of his character; his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent; and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favor of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Badlesmere, Giffard, Barret, Cheney, Fleming, and about eighteen of the most notorious offenders were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and were executed. Many were thrown into prison; others made their escape beyond the sea; some of the king's servants were rewarded from their forfeitures: Harcla received for his services the earldom of Carlisle and a large estate, which he soon after forfeited, with his life, for a treasonable correspondence with the King of Scotland. But the greater part of those vast escheats was seized by young Spenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party were disgusted with this partial division of the spoils: the envy against Spenser arose higher than ever; the usual insolence of his temper, inflamed by success, impelled him to commit many acts of violence; the people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of aversion; all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen secretly vowed revenge; and though tranquillity was, in appearance, restored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king and odium against Spenser bred dangerous humors, the source of future revolutions and convulsions.

In this situation no success could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonor, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years.⁵¹ Robert, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was satisfied with insuring his possession of it during so long a time. He had repelled with gallantry all the attacks of England; he had carried war both into that kingdom and

⁵⁰ Leland's Coll. vol. i. p. 668.

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1022. Murimuth, p. 60.

into Ireland; he had rejected with disdain the pope's authority, who pretended to impose his commands upon him and oblige him to make peace with his enemies; his throne was firmly established, as well in the affections of his subjects as by force of arms; yet there naturally remained some inquietude in his mind while at war with a state which, however at present disordered by faction, was of itself so much an overmatch for him both in riches and in numbers of people. And this truce was, at the same time, the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France.⁵²

[1324]. Philip the Fair, King of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his son, Lewis Hutin, who, after a short reign, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Philip the Long, his brother, whose death soon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngest brother of that family. This monarch had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne; and, as there was no common or equitable judge in that strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law, he seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and, under that pretence, to confiscate all his foreign dominions.⁵³ After an embassy by the Earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, Queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris and endeavor to adjust, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother; but while she was making some progress in this negotiation, Charles started a new pretension, the justice of which could not be disputed, that Edward himself should appear in his court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Spenser, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; and though that artful princess, on her leaving England, had dissembled her animosity, Spenser, well acquainted with her secret sentiments, was unwilling to attend his master to Paris and appear in a court where her credit might expose him to insults, if not to danger. He hesitated no less on allowing the king to make the journey alone; both fearing lest that easy prince should, in his absence, fall under other influence, and foreseeing the perils to which he himself should be exposed if, without the protection of royal authority, he remained in

⁵² Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1022. Murimuth, p. 60.

⁵³ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 74, 98.

England, where he was so generally hated. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella proposed that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. [1325.] This expedient, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately embraced: Spenser was charmed with the contrivance; young Edward was sent to Paris; and the ruin covered under this fatal snare was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his submissions to the king, had been condemned for high treason, but, having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was so fortunate as to make his escape into France;⁵⁴ and, being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, as well as distinguished by his violent animosity against Spenser, he was easily admitted to pay his court to Queen Isabella. The graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections; he became her confidant and counsellor in all her measures; and, gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion all the sentiments of honor and of fidelity to her husband.⁵⁵ Hating now the man whom she had injured, and whom she never valued, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favorite. She engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose; her court was daily filled with the exiled barons; Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied that she would

⁵⁴ Rymer. vol. iv, pp. 7, 8, 20. T. de la More, p. 596. Walsing. p. 120. Ypod. Neust. p. 506.

⁵⁵ T. de la More, p. 598. Murimuth, p. 65.

never set foot in the kingdom till Spenser was forever removed from his presence and councils—a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises.

Edward endeavored to put himself in a posture of defence,⁵⁶ but besides the difficulties arising from his own indolence and slender abilities, and the want of authority which of consequence attended all his resolutions, it was not easy for him, in the present state of the kingdom and revenue, to maintain a constant force ready to repel an invasion which he knew not at what time or place he had reason to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the traitorous and hostile conspiracies which, both at home and abroad, were forming against his authority, and which were daily penetrating farther even into his own family. His brother, the Earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his sister-in-law, and by the King of France, who was also his cousin-german, to give countenance to the invasion, whose sole object, he believed, was the expulsion of the Spensers; he prevailed on his elder brother, the Earl of Norfolk, to enter secretly into the same design; the Earl of Leicester, brother and heir of the Earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons for his hatred of these ministers to refuse his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates expressed their approbation of the queen's measures; several of the most potent barons, envying the authority of the favorite, were ready to fly to arms; the minds of the people, by means of some truths and many calumnies, were strongly disposed to the same party; and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with such a body of foreign troops as might protect her against immediate violence, to turn all this tempest, so artfully prepared, against the unhappy Edward.

[1326.] Charles, though he gave countenance and assistance to the faction, was ashamed openly to support the queen and prince against the authority of a husband and father; and Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign potentate, from whose dominions she might set out on her intended enterprise. For this purpose she affianced young Edward, whose tender age made him incapable to judge of the consequences, with Philippa, daughter of the Count of Holland and Hainault:⁵⁷ and

⁵⁶ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 184, 225.

⁵⁷ T. de la More, p. 598.

having, by the open assistance of this prince and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted in her service near three thousand men, she set sail from the harbor of Dort, and landed safely, and without opposition, on the coast of Suffolk. The Earl of Kent was in her company; two other princes of the blood, the Earl of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, joined her, soon after her landing, with all their followers; three prelates, the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vassals and the authority of their character;⁵⁸ even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces. To render her cause more favorable, she renewed her declaration that the sole purpose of her enterprise was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of Chancellor Baldoc, their creature.⁵⁹ The populace were allured by her specious pretences; the barons thought themselves secure against forfeitures by the appearance of the prince in her army; and a weak, irresolute king, supported by ministers generally odious, was unable to stem this torrent, which bore with such irresistible violence against him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to some sense of duty,⁶⁰ departed for the west, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; and he had no sooner discovered his weakness, by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without control against him and his ministers. They first plundered, then murdered, all those who were obnoxious to them; they seized the Bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was passing through the streets; and, having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river.⁶¹ They made themselves masters of the Tower by surprise; then entered into a formal association to put to death, without mercy, every one who should dare to oppose the enterprise of Queen Isabella and of the prince.⁶² A like spirit was soon communicated to all other parts of England, and threw the few servants of the king who still entertained thoughts of performing their duty into terror and astonishment.

Edward was hotly pursued to Bristol by the Earl of Kent, seconded by the foreign forces under John de Hain-

⁵⁸ Walsing. p. 123. Ypod. Neust. p. 507. T. de la More, p. 598. Murimuth, p. 66. ⁵⁹ Ypod. Neust. p. 508. ⁶⁰ Walsing. p. 123.

⁶¹ Walsing. p. 124. T. de la More, p. 599. Murimuth, p. 66.

⁶² Walsing. p. 124.

aunt. He found himself disappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty of those parts; and he passed over to Wales, where he flattered himself his name was more popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had seized the English.⁶³ The elder Spenser, created Earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was instantly, without trial, or witness, or accusation, or answer, condemned to death by the rebellious barons; he was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs;⁶⁴ and his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, and was there set on a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace.

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of succor from the Welsh, took shipping for Ireland; but, being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavored to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales; he was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the Earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser, his favorite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed, like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial;⁶⁵ the Earl of Arundel, almost the only man of his rank in England who had maintained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the instigation of Mortimer; Baldoc, the chancellor, being a priest, could not with safety be so suddenly despatched; but being sent to the Bishop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foresaw, seized by the populace, was thrown into Newgate, and soon after expired from the cruel usage which he had received.⁶⁶ Even the usual reverence paid to the sacerdotal character gave way, with every other consideration, to the present rage of the people.

The queen, to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned, in the king's name, a Parliament at Westminster, where, together with the power of her army and the authority of her partisans among the barons, who were concerned to secure their past treasons by committing new acts

⁶³ Murimuth, p. 67.

⁶⁴ Leland's Coll. vol. i. p. 673. T. de la More, p. 599. Walsing. p. 125. M. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 13.

⁶⁵ Walsing. p. 125. Ypod. Neust. p. 508.

⁶⁶ Walsing. p. 126. Murimuth, p. 68.

of violence against their sovereign, she expected to be seconded by the fury of the populace—the most dangerous of all instruments, and the least answerable for their excesses. [1327.] A charge was drawn up against the king, in which, even though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius or his misfortunes were objected to him; for the greatest malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accused of incapacity for government, of wasting his time in idle amusements, of neglecting public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, of having lost, by his misconduct, the kingdom of Scotland and part of Guienne; and, to swell the charge, even the death of some barons, and the imprisonment of some prelates convicted of treason, were laid to his account.⁶⁷ It was in vain, amidst the violence of arms and tumult of the people, to appeal either to law or reason; the deposition of the king, without any appearing opposition, was voted by Parliament; the prince, already declared regent by his party,⁶⁸ was placed on the throne, and a deputation was sent to Edward, at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him.

But it was impossible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, still farther inflamed by faction, could forever remain insensible to the voice of nature. Here, a wife had first deserted, next invaded, and then dethroned her husband; had made her minor son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; had, by lying pretences, seduced the nation into a rebellion against their sovereign; had pushed them into violence and cruelties that had dishonored them: all those circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The suspicions which soon arose of Isabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increased the general abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate,⁶⁹ was not able to deceive even the most stupid and most prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch,

⁶⁷ Knyghton, pp. 2765. 2766. Brady's App. No. 72.

⁶⁸ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 137. Walsing. p. 125.

⁶⁹ Walsing. p. 126.

who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendship, with veneration; and men became sensible that all his misconduct, which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the unavoidable weakness, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The Earl of Leicester, now Earl of Lancaster, to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touched with those generous sentiments; and, besides using his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained still more honorable intentions in his favor. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to Lord Berkeley and Mautravers and Gournay, who were intrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the instruments of his murder.⁷⁰ It is reported that one day, when Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpose; and when he desired it to be changed, and was still denied his request, he burst into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed that, in spite of their insolence, he should be shaved with clean and warm water.⁷¹ But as this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared still too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers who were at his devotion instantly to despatch him; and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge,⁷² they came to Berkeley Castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thrust into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonized king filled the castle while his bowels were consuming.

⁷⁰ Anonymi Hist. p. 838. ⁷¹ T. de la More, p. 602. ⁷² Cotton's Abridg. p. 8.

Gournay and Mautravers were held in general detestation; and when the ensuing revolution in England threw their protectors from power, they found it necessary to provide for their safety by flying the kingdom. Gournay was afterwards seized at Marseilles, delivered over to the Seneschal of Guienne, put on board a ship, with a view of carrying him to England; but he was beheaded at sea, by secret orders, as was supposed, from some nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any discovery which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers concealed himself for several years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some service to Edward III., he ventured to approach his person, threw himself on his knees before him, submitted to mercy, and received a pardon.⁷³

It is not easy to imagine a man more innocent and inoffensive than the unhappy king whose tragical death we have related, nor a prince less fitted for governing that fierce and turbulent people subjected to his authority. He was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government, which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear; the same indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of ministers and favorites who were not always the best qualified for the trust committed to them; the seditious grandees, pleased with his weakness, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his ministers, insulted his person and invaded his authority; and the impatient populace, mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increased the public disorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whose voice, always feeble in those times, was not heard amidst the din of arms: what could not defend the king was less able to give shelter to any of the people; the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence; and men, instead of regretting the manners of their age and the form of their constitution, which required the most steady and most skilful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the person who had the misfortune to be intrusted with the reins of empire.

But though such mistakes are natural, and almost unavoidable, while the events are recent, it is a shameful delusion, in modern historians, to imagine that all the ancient princes who were unfortunate in their government were also tyrannical in their conduct, and that the seditions of the

⁷³ Cotton's Abridg. pp. 66, 81. Rymer, vol. v. p. 600.

people always proceeded from some invasion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not, in that age, secure against faction and rebellion, as appears in the case of Henry II. ; but a great king had the best chance, as we learn from the history of the same period, for quelling and subduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I. and II. The father made several violent attempts against the liberties of the people ; his barons opposed him ; he was obliged, at least found it prudent, to submit ; but as they dreaded his valor and abilities, they were content with reasonable satisfaction, and pushed no farther their advantages against him. The facility and weakness of the son, not his violence, threw everything into confusion ; the laws and government were overturned ; an attempt to reinstate them was an unpardonable crime ; and no atonement but the deposition and tragical death of the king himself could give those barons contentment. It is easy to see that a constitution which depended so much on the personal character of the prince must necessarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without distinction, the blame of all disorders upon the sovereign would introduce a fatal error in politics, and serve as a perpetual apology for treason and rebellion ; as if the turbulence of the great and madness of the people were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evils incident to human society, and no less carefully to be guarded against in every well-regulated constitution.

While these abominable scenes passed in England, the theatre of France was stained with a wickedness equally barbarous, and still more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first fervor of the crusades ; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valor, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues ; and the templars had, in a great measure, lost that popularity which first raised them to honor and distinction. Acquainted, from experience, with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe ; and being all men of

birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprises against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge by involving the whole order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered, on one day, all the templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Besides their being universally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature, every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross,⁷⁴ and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites as could serve to no other purpose than to degrade the order in his eyes, and destroy forever the authority of all his superiors over him.⁷⁵ Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt; the more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors; several, to procure immediate ease, in the violence of their agonies acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the templars relieved from their tortures than,

⁷⁴ Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 31, 101.

⁷⁵ It was pretended that he kissed the knights who received him on the mouth, navel, and breech. Dupuy, pp. 15, 16. Walsing. p. 99.

preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honor to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital; great numbers expired, after a like manner, in other parts of the kingdom; and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims in justifying to the last their innocence had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavored to overcome the constancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold erected before the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire destined for their execution was shown them on the other: these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their order, and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.⁷⁶

In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V., who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and, without examining a witness or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but nowhere except in France were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the pope, transferred to the order of St. John.⁷⁷ We now proceed to relate some other detached transactions of the present period.

The kingdom of England was afflicted with a grievous famine during several years of this reign. Perpetual rains and cold weather not only destroyed the harvest, but bred a mortality among the cattle, and raised every kind of food

⁷⁶ Vertot, vol. ii. p. 142.

⁷⁷ Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 323, 956; vol. iv. p. 47. Ypod. Neust. p. 506.

to an enormous price.⁷⁸ The Parliament, in 1315, endeavored to fix more moderate rates to commodities; not sensible that such an attempt was impracticable, and that, were it possible to reduce the price of provisions by any other expedient than by introducing plenty, nothing could be more pernicious and destructive to the public. Where the produce of a year, for instance, falls so far short as to afford full subsistence only for nine months, the only expedient for making it last all the twelve is to raise the prices, to put the people, by that means, on short allowance, and oblige them to save their food till a more plentiful season. But, in reality, the increase of prices is a necessary consequence of scarcity; and laws, instead of preventing it, only aggravate the evil by cramping and restraining commerce. The Parliament accordingly, in the ensuing year, repealed their ordinance, which they had found useless and burdensome.⁷⁹

The prices affixed by the Parliament are somewhat remarkable: three pounds twelve shillings of our present money for the best stalled ox; for other oxen, two pounds eight shillings; a fat hog of two years old, ten shillings; a fat wether, unshorn, a crown; if shorn, three shillings and sixpence; a fat goose, sevenpence halfpenny; a fat capon, sixpence; a fat hen, threepence; two chickens, threepence; four pigeons, threepence; two dozen of eggs, threepence.⁸⁰ If we consider these prices, we shall find that butchers' meat, in this time of great scarcity, must still have been sold, by the parliamentary ordinance, three times cheaper than our middling prices at present; poultry somewhat lower, because, being now considered as a delicacy, it has risen beyond its proportion. In the country places of Ireland and Scotland, where delicacies bear no price, poultry is at present as cheap, if not cheaper, than butchers' meat. But the inference I would draw from the comparison of prices is still more considerable. I suppose that the rates affixed by Parliament were inferior to the usual market prices in those years of famine and mortality of cattle, and that these commodities, instead of a third, had really risen to half of the present value. But the famine at that time was so consuming that wheat was sometimes sold for above four pounds ten shillings a quarter,⁸¹ usually for three

⁷⁸ Trivet, cont. pp. 17, 18.

⁷⁹ Walsing. p. 107.

⁸⁰ Rot. Parl. 7 Edw. II. n. 35, 36. Ypod. Neust. p. 502.

⁸¹ Murimuth, p. 48. Walsingham, p. 108, says it rose to six pounds.

pounds,⁸² that is, twice our middling prices—a certain proof of the wretched state of tillage in those ages. We formerly found that the middling price of corn in that period was half of the present price, while the middling price of cattle was only an eighth part; we here find the same immense disproportion in years of scarcity. It may thence be inferred with certainty that the raising of corn was a species of manufactory which few in that age could practise with advantage; and there is reason to think that other manufactures more refined were sold even beyond their present prices; at least there is a demonstration for it in the reign of Henry VII., from the rates affixed to scarlet and other broad cloth by act of Parliament. During all those times it was usual for the princes and great nobility to make settlements of their velvet beds and silken robes, in the same manner as of their estates and manors.⁸³ In the list of jewels and plate which had belonged to the ostentatious Gavaston, and which the king recovered from the Earl of Lancaster after the murder of that favorite, we find some embroidered girdles, flowered shirts, and silk waistcoats.⁸⁴ It was afterwards one article of accusation against that potent and opulent earl, when he was put to death, that he had purloined some of that finery of Gavaston's. The ignorance of those ages in manufactures, and, still more, their unskilful husbandry, seem a clear proof that the country was then far from being populous.

All trade and manufactures, indeed, were then at a very low ebb. The only country in the northern parts of Europe where they seem to have risen to any tolerable degree of improvement was Flanders. When Robert, earl of that country, was applied to by the king, and was desired to break off commerce with the Scots, whom Edward called his rebels, and represented as excommunicated on that account by the Church, the earl replied that Flanders was always considered as common, and free and open to all nations.⁸⁵

The petition of the elder Spenser to Parliament, complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains several particulars which are curious, and discover the manners of the age.⁸⁶ He affirms that they had ravaged sixty-three manors belonging to him, and he makes

⁸² Ypod. Neust. p. 502. Trivet, cont. p. 18.

⁸³ Dugdale, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 388.

⁸⁵ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 770.

⁸⁶ Brady's Hist. vol. ii. p. 143, from Claus. 15 Edw. II. M. 14. Dors in cedula.

his losses amount to forty-six thousand pounds ; that is, to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand of our present money. Among other particulars, he enumerates twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and heifers, one thousand two hundred cows, with their breed for two years, five hundred and sixty cart horses, two thousand hogs ; together with six hundred bacons, eighty carcasses of beef, and six hundred muttons in the larder ; ten tuns of cider ; arms for two hundred men, and other warlike engines and provisions. The plain inference is that the greater part of Spenser's vast estate, as well as the estates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himself, managed by his stewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains. Little or none of it was let on lease to husbandmen ; its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality by the baron or his officers ; a great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him ; all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal ; instead of applying to courts of justice he usually sought redress by open force and violence : the great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations. / The method in which we find they treated the king's favorites and ministers is a proof of their usual way of dealing with each other. A party which complains of the arbitrary conduct of ministers ought naturally to effect a great regard for the laws and constitution, and maintain at least the appearance of justice in their proceedings ; yet those barons, when discontented, came to Parliament with an armed force, constrained the king to assent to their measures, and, without any trial or witness or conviction, passed, from the pretended notoriety of facts, an act of banishment or attainder against the minister, which, on the first revolution of fortune, was reversed by like expedients. The Parliament during factious times was nothing but the organ of present power. Though the persons of whom it was chiefly composed seemed to enjoy great independence, they really possessed no true liberty ; and the security of each individual among them was not so much derived from the general protection of law, as from his own private power and that of his confederates. The authority of the monarch, though far from absolute, was irregular, and might often reach him ; the current of a faction might overwhelm him ; a hundred con-

siderations, of benefits and injuries, friendships and animosities, hopes and fears, were able to influence his conduct; and, amidst these motives, a regard to equity and law and justice was commonly, in those rude ages, of little moment. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of opposing present power who did not deem himself strong enough to dispute the field with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the sovereign or the ruling party.

Before I conclude this reign, I cannot forbear making another remark, drawn from the detail of losses given in by the elder Spenser; particularly the great quantity of salted meat which he had in his larder—six hundred bacons, eighty carcasses of beef, six hundred muttons. We may observe that the outrage of which he complained began after the third of May, or the eleventh new style, as we learn from the same paper. It is easy, therefore, to conjecture what a vast store of the same kind he must have laid up at the beginning of winter; and we may draw a new conclusion with regard to the wretched state of ancient husbandry, which could not provide subsistence for the cattle during winter even in such a temperate climate as the south of England; for Spenser had but one manor so far north as Yorkshire. There being few or no enclosures, except, perhaps, for deer, no sown grass, little hay, and no other resource for feeding cattle, the barons, as well as the people, were obliged to kill and salt their oxen and sheep in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common pasture—a precaution still practised with regard to oxen in the least cultivated parts of this island. The salting of mutton is a miserable expedient, which has everywhere been long disused. From this circumstance, however trivial in appearance, may be drawn important inference with regard to the domestic economy and manner of life in those ages.

The disorders of the times from foreign wars and intestine dissensions, but, above all, the cruel famine which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers, increased the number of robbers in the kingdom; and no place was secure from their incursions.⁸⁷ They met in troops like armies, and overran the country. Two cardinals themselves, the pope's legates, notwithstanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed, and despoiled

⁸⁷ Ypod. Neust. p. 502. Walsing. p. 107.

of their goods and equipage, when they travelled on the highway.⁸⁸

Among the other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined that the persons affected with leprosy, a disease at that time very common, probably from bad diet, had conspired with the Saracens to poison all the springs and fountains; and, men being glad of any pretence to get rid of those who were a burden to them, many of those unhappy people were burnt alive on this chimerical imputation. Several Jews also were punished in their persons, and their goods were confiscated on the same account.⁸⁹

Stowe, in his survey of London, gives us a curious instance of the hospitality of the ancient nobility in this period; it is taken from the accounts of the cofferer or steward of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and contains the expenses of that earl during the year 1313, which was not a year of famine. For the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, three thousand four hundred and five pounds; for three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine and two of white, one hundred and four pounds, etc. The whole, seven thousand three hundred and nine pounds; that is, near twenty-two thousand pounds of our present money; and, making allowance for the cheapness of commodities, near a hundred thousand pounds.

I have seen a French manuscript containing accounts of some private disbursements of this king. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. To judge by the events of the reign, this ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

This king left four children, two sons and two daughters: Edward, his eldest son and successor; John, created afterwards Earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, King of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, Count of Gueldres.

⁸⁸ Ypod. Neust. p. 503. T. de la More, p. 594. Trivet, cent. p. 22. Murimuth, p. 51.

⁸⁹ Ypod. Neust. p. 504.

CHAPTER XV.

EDWARD III.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF KENT.
 —EXECUTION OF MORTIMER, EARL OF MARCH.—STATE OF
 SCOTLAND.—WAR WITH THAT KINGDOM.—KING'S CLAIM
 TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR
 WITH FRANCE.—WAR.—NAVAL VICTORY.—DOMESTIC DIS-
 TURBANCES.—AFFAIRS OF BRITTANY.—RENEWAL OF THE
 WAR WITH FRANCE.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—BATTLE OF
 CRECY.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—CAPTIVITY OF THE KING
 OF SCOTS.—CALAIS TAKEN.

THE violent party which had taken arms against Edward II., and finally deposed that unfortunate monarch, deemed it requisite, for their future security, to pay so far an exterior obeisance to the law as to desire a parliamentary indemnity for all their illegal proceedings, on account of the necessity which it was pretended they lay under of employing force against the Spensers and other evil counsellors, enemies of the kingdom. All the attainders, also, which had passed against the Earl of Lancaster and his adherents, when the chance of war turned against them, were easily reversed during the triumph of their party;¹ and the Spensers, whose former attainder had been reversed by Parliament, were now again, in this change of fortune, condemned by the votes of their enemies. A council of regency was likewise appointed by Parliament, consisting of twelve persons: five prelates—the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford—and seven lay peers—the Earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the Lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross. The Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the king's person. But though it was reasonable to expect that, as the weakness of the former king had given reins to the licentiousness of the barons, great domestic

¹ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 245, 257, 258, etc.

tranquillity would not prevail during the present minority, the first disturbance arose from an invasion by foreign enemies.

The King of Scots, declining in years and health, but retaining still that martial spirit which had raised his nation from the lowest ebb of fortune, deemed the present opportunity favorable for infesting England. He first made an attempt on the castle of Norham, in which he was disappointed; he then collected an army of twenty-five thousand men on the frontiers, and, having given the command to the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas, threatened an incursion into the northern counties. The English regency, after trying in vain every expedient to restore peace with Scotland, made vigorous preparations for war; and, besides assembling an English army of near sixty thousand men, they invited back John of Hainault and some foreign cavalry whom they had dismissed, and whose discipline and arms had appeared superior to those of their own country. Young Edward himself, burning with a passion for military fame, appeared at the head of these numerous forces, and marched from Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, in quest of the enemy, who had already broken into the frontiers and were laying everything waste around them.

Murray and Douglas were the two most celebrated warriors bred in the long hostilities between the Scots and English; and their forces, trained in the same school and inured to hardships, fatigues, and dangers, were perfectly qualified, by their habits and manner of life, for that desultory and destructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of about four thousand cavalry, well armed and fit to make a steady impression in battle, the rest of the army were light-armed troops, mounted on small horses which found subsistence everywhere and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches, whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, or to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country. Their whole equipage consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in case of necessity, each soldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron on which he instantly baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle which he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the skin, loose and hanging in the form of a bag, upon some stakes; he poured wa-

ter into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a caldron for the boiling of his victuals.²

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, after composing some dangerous frays which broke out between his foreign forces and the English,³ was to come up with an army so rapid in its marches and so little encumbered in its motions. Though the flame and smoke of burning villages directed him sufficiently to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hurrying thither, that they had already dislodged; and he soon discovered, by new marks of devastation, that they had removed to some distant quarter. After harassing his army during some time in this fruitless chase, he advanced northwards and crossed the Tyne, with a resolution of awaiting them on their return homewards and taking vengeance for all their depredations.⁴ But that whole country was already so much wasted by their frequent incursions that it could not afford subsistence to his army, and he was obliged again to return southwards and change his plan of operations. He had now lost all track of the enemy, and, though he promised the reward of a hundred pounds a year to any one who should bring an account of their motions, he remained inactive some days before he received any intelligence of them.⁵ He found, at last, that they had fixed their camp on the southern banks of the Ware as if they intended to await a battle; but their prudent leaders had chosen the ground with such judgment that the English, on their approach, saw it impracticable, without temerity, to cross the river in their front and attack them in their present situation. Edward, impatient for revenge and glory, here sent them a defiance, and challenged them, if they dared, to meet him in an equal field and try the fortune of arms. The bold spirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he advised the acceptance of the challenge; but he was overruled by Murray, who replied to Edward that he never took the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, kept still his position opposite to the Scots, and daily expected that necessity would oblige them to change their quarters and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them with superior forces. After a few days they suddenly decamped and marched farther up the river, but still posted themselves in

² Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 18.

⁴ Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 19.

³ Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 17.

⁵ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 312. Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 19.

such a manner as to preserve the advantage of the ground if the enemy should venture to attack them.⁶ Edward insisted that all hazards should be run rather than allow these ravagers to escape with impunity ; but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack, and opposed itself to the valor of the young monarch. While the armies lay in this position, an incident happened which had well-nigh proved fatal to the English. Douglas, having gotten the word, and surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly, in the night-time, with a body of two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king, in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance ; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety ; the king himself, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark ; and Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder.⁷ Soon after the Scottish army decamped, without noise, in the dead of night, and, having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived without farther loss in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottish encampment, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.⁸

The king was highly incensed at the disappointment which he had met with in his first enterprise, and at the head of so gallant an army. The symptoms which he had discovered of bravery and spirit gave extreme satisfaction, and were regarded as sure prognostics of an illustrious reign ; but the general displeasure fell violently on Mortimer, who was already the object of public odium ; and every measure which he pursued tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the nation both against him and Queen Isabella.

When the council of regency was formed, Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had taken no care to insure a place in it ; but this semblance of moderation was only a cover to the most iniquitous and most ambitious projects. He rendered that council entirely useless by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority ; he settled

⁶ Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 19.

⁷ Ibid. Heming, p. 268. Ypod. Neust. p. 509. Knyghton, p. 2552.

⁸ Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 19.

on the queen-dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never consulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public measure; the king himself was so besieged by his creatures that no access could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gavaston and Spenser fell much more deservedly on the new favorite.

[1328.] Mortimer, sensible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it requisite, on any terms, to secure peace abroad; and he entered into a negotiation with Robert Bruce for that purpose. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between Jane, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert, consented to resign absolutely this claim, to give up all the homages done by Scottish Parliament and nobility, and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland.⁹ In return for these advantages, Robert stipulated the payment of thirty thousand marks to England. This treaty was ratified by Parliament,¹⁰ but was nevertheless the source of great discontent among the people, who, having entered zealously into the pretensions of Edward I., and deeming themselves disgraced by the successful resistance made by so inferior a nation, were disappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes both of conquest and of vengeance.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer entertained great suspicions of their designs against him. In summoning them to Parliament, he strictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming attended by an armed force, an illegal but usual practice in that age. The three earls, as they approached to Salisbury, the place appointed for the meeting of Parliament, found that though they themselves, in obedience to the king's command, had brought only their usual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms, and they began, with some reason, to apprehend a dangerous design against their persons. They retreated, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer, when the weakness of Kent and Norfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissions.¹¹ The quarrel, by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

⁹ Rymer, p. 337. Heming. p. 270. Anon. Hist. p. 392.

¹⁰ Ypod. Neust. p. 510.

¹¹ Knyghton, p. 2554.

[1329.] But Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victim; and the simplicity, with the good intentions, of the Earl of Kent afforded him, soon after, an opportunity of practising upon him. By himself and his emissaries, he endeavored to persuade that prince that his brother, King Edward, was still alive and detained in some secret prison in England. The earl, whose remorse for the part which he had acted against the late king probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a design of restoring him to liberty, of reinstating him on the throne, and of making thereby some atonement for the injuries which he himself had unwarily done him.¹² After this harmless contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer, was accused before the Parliament, and condemned by those slavish though turbulent barons to lose his life and fortune. [1330.] The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the prisoner was beheaded next day; but so general was the affection borne him, and such pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, that, though peers had been easily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office.¹³

The Earl of Lancaster, on pretence of his having assented to this conspiracy, was soon after thrown into prison; many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted: Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the forfeitures. The estate of the Earl of Kent was seized for his younger son, Geoffrey; the immense fortunes of the Spencers and their adherents were mostly converted to his own use; he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to the royal; his power became formidable to every one; his illegal practices were daily complained of, and all parties, forgetting past animosities, conspired in their hatred of Mortimer.

It was impossible that these abuses could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward, who, being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this insolent minister. But so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer that it behooved him to conduct the project for subverting

¹² Avesbury, p. 8. Anon. Hist. p. 395.

¹³ Heming. p. 271. Ypod. Neust. p. 510. Knyghton, p. 2555.

him with the same secrecy and precaution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions to Lord Mountacute, who engaged the Lords Molins and Clifford, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others to enter into their views; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of the enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress; the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction, the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's.¹⁴ A Parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation. He was accused before that assembly of having usurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by Parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the Earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the King of Scotland, and of other crimes and misdemeanors.¹⁵ The Parliament condemned him, from the supposed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, in the neighborhood of London. It is remarkable that this sentence was, near twenty years after, reversed by Parliament in favor of Mortimer's son; and the reason assigned was the illegal manner of proceeding.¹⁶ The principles of law and justice were established in England not in such a degree as to prevent any iniquitous sentence against a person obnoxious to the ruling party, but sufficient, on the return of his credit or that of his friends, to serve as a reason or pretence for its reversal.

Justice was also executed, by a sentence of the House of Peers, on some of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Bereford; but the barons, in that act of jurisdic-

¹⁴ Avesbury, p. 9.

¹⁵ Brady's App. No. 83. Anon. Hist. pp. 397, 398. Knyghton, p. 2556.

¹⁶ Cotton's Abridg. pp. 85, 86.

tion, entered a protest that, though they had tried Bereford, who was none of their peers, they should not, for the future, be obliged to receive any such indictment. [1331.] The queen was confined to her own house at Risings, near London; her revenue was reduced to four thousand pounds a year;¹⁷ and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, she never was able to reinstate herself in any credit or authority.

Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment, to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority in the crown or from the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers; and as the robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds had, during the course of public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after exacting from the Peers a solemn promise in Parliament that they would break off all connections with such malefactors,¹⁸ set himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous as to require his own presence to disperse them, and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. The ministers of justice, from his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing the criminals; and this disorder was by degrees corrected, at least palliated, the utmost that could be expected with regard to a disease hitherto inherent in the constitution.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighboring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought and soon found an opportunity of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered, by arms, the independence of his country, and had fixed it by the last treaty of peace with England, soon after died, and left David, his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph, Earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. It had been stipulated in this treaty that both the Scottish nobility who, before the commencement of the wars, enjoyed lands in England and the English who inherited estates in Scotland should be restored to their respective possessions;¹⁹ but, though this

¹⁷ Cotton's Abridg. p. 10.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 384.

article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who observed that the estates claimed by Englishmen were much more numerous and valuable than the others, either thought it dangerous to admit so many secret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers the possessions bestowed on them as the reward of former services; and he had protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English nobles, disappointed in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and as their influence was great in the north, their enmity alone, even though unsupported by the King of England, became dangerous to the minor prince who succeeded to the Scottish throne.

[1332.] Edward Baliol, the son of that John who was crowned King of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but, having also obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy, on his patrimonial estate in that country, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretensions, however plausible, had been so strenuously abjured by the Scots and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person; and he had been thrown into prison on account of some private offence of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland,²⁰ found him in this situation, and, deeming him a proper instrument for his purpose, made such interest with the King of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over with him to England.

The injured nobles, possessed of such a head, began to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms, and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. But there were several reasons which deterred the king from openly avowing their enterprise. In his treaty with Scotland, he had entered into a bond of twenty thousand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace; and, as the term was not yet elapsed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the sovereign pontiff, who possessed so many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was also afraid that violence and injustice would everywhere be imputed to him if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title

²⁰ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 251.

had so lately been acknowledged by a solemn treaty; and as the Regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, had always confessed the justice of their claim, and had only given an evasive answer, grounded on plausible pretences, Edward resolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ like artifices against him. He secretly encouraged Baliol in his enterprise, connived at his assembling forces in the north, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt. A force of near two thousand five hundred men was enlisted under Baliol by Umfreville, Earl of Angus, the Lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitzwarin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Mowbray. As these adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be strongly armed and guarded, they resolved to make their attack by sea; and, having embarked at Ravenspur, they reached in a few days the coast of Fife.

Scotland was at that time in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric and maintained a union among the unruly barons, Lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain, in a crusade against the Moors, and had there perished in battle;²¹ the Earl of Murray, who had long been declining through age and infirmities, had lately died, and had been succeeded in the regency by Donald, Earl of Marre, a man of much inferior talents; the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a proper guidance and direction; and a minor king seemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance which it had required all the consummate valor and abilities of his father to acquire and maintain. But as the Scots were apprised of the intended invasion, great numbers, on the appearance of the English fleet, immediately ran to the shore in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Baliol had valor and activity, and he drove back the Scots with considerable loss.²² He marched westward into the heart of the country, flattering himself that the ancient partisans of his family would declare for him; but, the fierce animosities which had been kindled between the two nations inspiring the Scots with a strong prejudice against a prince supported by the English,

²¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 21.

²² Heming. p. 272. Walsing. p. 131. Knyghton, p. 2560.

he was regarded as a common enemy, and the regent found no difficulty in assembling a great army to oppose him. It is pretended that Marre had no less than forty thousand men under his banners; but the same hurry and impatience that made him collect a force which, from its greatness, was so disproportioned to the occasion, rendered all his motions unskilful and imprudent. The river Earne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that security, as well as in their great superiority of numbers, kept no order in their encampment. Baliol passed the river in the night-time; attacked the unguarded and undisciplined Scots; threw them into confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by their very numbers to which they trusted; and he beat them off the field with great slaughter.²³ But in the morning, when the Scots were at some distance, they were ashamed of having yielded the victory to so weak a foe, and they hurried back to recover the honor of the day. Their eager passions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to some broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol seized the favorable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented them from rallying, and anew chased them off the field with redoubled slaughter. There fell above twelve thousand Scots in this action, and among these the flower of the nobility: the regent himself, the Earl of Carric, a natural son of their late king, the Earls of Athole and Monteith, Lord Hay of Errol, constable, and the Lords Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English scarcely exceeded thirty men—a strong proof, among many others, of the miserable state of military discipline in those ages.²⁴

Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth, but still was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patric Dunbar, Earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottish armies, which amounted still to near forty thousand men; and they purposed to reduce Baliol and the English by famine. They blockaded Perth by land: they collected some vessels, with which they invested it by water; but Baliol's ships, attacking the Scottish fleet, gained a complete victory, and opened a communication between Perth and the sea.²⁵ The Scottish armies were then obliged to dis-

²³ Knyghton, p. 2561.

²⁴ Heming, p. 273. Walsing. p. 131. Knyghton, p. 2561.

²⁵ Heming, p. 273. Knyghton, p. 2561.

band for want of pay and subsistence; the nation was, in effect, subdued by a handful of men; each nobleman who found himself most exposed to danger successively submitted to Baliol; that prince was crowned at Scone; David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Jane, sister to Edward; and the heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted them in order to assemble a Parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognized by the whole Scottish nation.

[1333.] But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked on a sudden near Annan by Sir Archibald Douglas and other chieftains of that party. He was routed; his brother, John Baliol, was slain; he himself was chased into England in a miserable condition, and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it.

While Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had been sensible that, without the protection of England, it would be impossible for him to maintain possession of the throne; and he had secretly sent a message to Edward offering to acknowledge his superiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to espouse the Princess Jane if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession made by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all scruples, and willingly accepted the offer; but as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown—an enterprise which appeared from late experience so easy and so little hazardous. As he possessed many popular arts, he consulted his Parliament on the occasion; but that assembly, finding the resolution already taken, declined giving any opinion, and only granted him, in order to support the enterprise, an aid of a fifteenth from the personal estates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the movables of boroughs. And they added a petition that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grieving his subjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous seizure of their goods in the shape of purveyance.²⁶

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, threw a strong

garrison into that place, under the command of Sir William Keith, and he himself assembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England as soon as Edward should have invested that place. The English army was less numerous, but better supplied with arms and provisions, and retained in stricter discipline; and the king, notwithstanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had, in two months, reduced the garrison to extremities, and had obliged them to capitulate. They engaged to surrender if they were not relieved within a few days by their countrymen.²⁷ This intelligence being conveyed to the Scottish army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and engaged them to advance towards Berwick, and attempt the relief of that important fortress. Douglas, who had ever purposed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was sensible of the enemy's superiority, and who intended to have drawn out the war by small skirmishes, and by mutually ravaging each other's country, was forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the English at Hali-downhill, a little north of Berwick; and though his heavy-armed cavalry dismounted, in order to render the action more steady and desperate, they were received with such valor by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas, their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled in confusion, and the English, but much more the Irish, gave little quarter in the pursuit; all the nobles of chief distinction were either slain or taken prisoners; near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action; while the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers, an inequality almost incredible.²⁸

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no other resource than instant submission; and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh; ²⁹ the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and, to complete the misfortunes of that nation,

²⁷ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 564, 565, 566.

²⁸ Heming, pp. 275, 276, 277. Knyghton, p. 2559. Otterbourne, p. 115.

²⁹ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 590.

Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, which were declared to be forever annexed to the English monarchy.³⁰

[1334.] If Baliol, on his first appearance, was dreaded by the Scots as an instrument employed by England for the subjection of the kingdom, this deed confirmed all their suspicions, and rendered him the object of universal hatred. Whatever submissions they might be obliged to make, they considered him not as their prince, but as the delegate and confederate of their determined enemy; and neither the manners of the age nor the state of Edward's revenue permitting him to maintain a standing army in Scotland, the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with success his valor and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol, and in a short time had almost wholly expelled him the kingdom. [1335.] Edward was obliged again to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland: the Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses; he destroyed the houses and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels; but this confirmed them still farther in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol, and, being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage, on the first opportunity, of the retreat of their enemy, and they soon reconquered their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like success; he found everything hostile in the kingdom except the spot on which he was encamped; and, though he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken and subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, they were encouraged, amidst all their calamities, by daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect, from this incident, a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

[1337.] We now come to a transaction on which depended the most memorable events not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history during more than a century; and it will therefore be

³⁰ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 614.

necessary to give a particular account of the springs and causes of it.

It had long been a prevailing opinion that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determinate origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favoring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But though positive law seems wanting among the French for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place, and the rule was established beyond controversy on some ancient, as well as some modern, precedents. During the first race of the monarchy, the Franks were so rude and barbarous a people that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their history there were frequent instances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice of females who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male succession in the second race; and though the instances were neither so frequent nor so certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males; and no female, and none who founded his title on a female, had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three sons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Isabella, Queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret, sister to Eudes, Duke of Burgundy; and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip, his younger brother, was appointed regent till it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days. Philip was proclaimed king; and as the Duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and declared all females forever incapable of succeeding to the crown of

France. Philip died after a short reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without dispute or controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short; he left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession if the issue should prove female. This Prince was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The Queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

The King of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the cousin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded. The principle of excluding females was, of old, an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law; it was supported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly and deliberately decided; and, what placed it still farther beyond controversy, if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions; since the three last kings had all left daughters who were still alive, and who stood before him in the order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, besides that this pretension was more favorable to Charles, King of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe,⁸¹ was so repugnant to the practice both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim: Philip's title was universally recognized;⁸² and he never imagined that he had a competitor, much less so formidable a one as the King of England.

But though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to insist on his pretensions, which must have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and

⁸¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 4.

⁸² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 22.

implacable war with so powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience, and, at that time, of an established character both for prudence and valor; and by these circumstances, as well as by the internal union of his people and their acquiescence in his undoubted right, he possessed every advantage above a raw youth newly raised, by injustice and violence, to the government of the most intractable and most turbulent subjects in Europe. But there immediately occurred an incident which required that Edward should either openly declare his pretensions or forever renounce and abjure them. He was summoned to do homage for Guienne; Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms; that country was in a very bad state of defence; and the forfeiture of so rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate consequence of his refusing or declining to perform the duty of a vassal. Edward, therefore, thought it prudent to submit to present necessity; he went over to Amiens; did homage to Philip; and, as there had arisen some controversy concerning the terms of this submission, he afterwards sent over a formal deed in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France;³³ which was, in effect, ratifying, and that in the strongest terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim, indeed, was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it had it not been for some incidents which excited an animosity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood royal of France, was a man of great character and authority, had espoused Philip's sister, and, by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the highest figure, and fill the most important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a sentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was seduced to attempt recovering possession by an action so unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery.³⁴

The detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion; his brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. Robert, incapable of bearing

³³ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 477, 481. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 25. Anon. Hist. p. 394. Walsing. p. 130. Murimuth, p. 73.

³⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 25.

disgrace, left the kingdom, and hid himself in the Low Countries. Chased from that retreat by the authority of Philip, he came over to England. In spite of the French king's menaces and remonstrances, he was favorably received by Edward,³⁵ and was soon admitted into the councils, and shared the confidence, of that monarch. Abandoning himself to all the movements of rage and despair, he endeavored to revive the prepossession entertained by Edward in favor of his title to the crown of France, and even flattered him that it was not impossible for a prince of his valor and abilities to render his claim effectual. The king was the more disposed to hearken to suggestions of this nature, because he had, in several particulars, found reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce and supported, at least encouraged, the Scots in their struggles for independence. Thus resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation proposed by the pope, who never ceased interposing his good offices between them. Philip thought that he should be wanting to the first principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland; Edward affirmed that he must relinquish all pretensions to generosity if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of some preparations for hostilities which had been made by his rival, issued a sentence of felony and attainder against Robert, and declared that every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor would be involved in the same sentence—a menace easy to be understood. The latter, resolute not to yield, endeavored to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France or produce such a diversion as might save the province of Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

The king began with opening his intentions to the Count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and, having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and councils of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighborhood. The Duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence; ³⁶ the Archbishop of

³⁵ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 747. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 27.

³⁶ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 777.

Cologne, the Duke of Gueldres, the Marquis of Juliers, the Count of Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance.³⁷ These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and naught was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the accession of Flanders, which Edward procured by means somewhat extraordinary and unusual.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had risen to a degree of opulence unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather of slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown by the feudal institutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their sovereign and their nobility to conform themselves to the principles of law and civil government, so much neglected in every other country; it was impossible for them to confine themselves within the proper bounds in their opposition and resentment against any instance of tyranny. They had risen in tumults; had insulted the nobles; had chased their earl into France; and, delivering themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, had been guilty of all that insolence and disorder to which the thoughtless and enraged populace are so much inclined wherever they are unfortunate enough to be their own masters.³⁸

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure; he was accompanied by a guard who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure; all the cities of Flanders were full of his spies, and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage; the few nobles who remained in the country lived in continual terror from his violence; he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered, and, bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use.³⁹ Such were the

³⁷ Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 29, 33, 36. ³⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 30. Meyerus.

³⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 30.

first effects that Europe saw of popular violence, after having groaned during so many ages under monarchical and aristocratical tyranny.

James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to his interests; and that prince, the most haughty and most aspiring of the age, never courted any ally with so much assiduity and so many submissions as he employed towards this seditious and criminal tradesman. D'Arteville, proud of these advances from the King of England, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the English, who furnished them the materials of their woollen manufactures, the chief source of their opulence, readily embraced the interests of Edward, and invited him over into the Low Countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterprise, affected to consult his Parliament, asked their advice, and obtained their consent;⁴⁰ and, the more to strengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool, which might amount to about a hundred thousand pounds: this commodity was a good instrument to employ with the Flemings, and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other necessary sums by loans, by pawning the crown jewels, by confiscating, or rather robbing, at once, all the Lombards, who now exercised the invidious trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on interest;⁴¹ and, being attended by a body of English forces and by several of his nobility, he sailed over to Flanders.

[1338.] The German princes, in order to justify their unprovoked hostilities against France, had required the sanction of some legal authority; and Edward, that he might give them satisfaction on this head, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him "vicar of the empire"—an empty title, but which seemed to give him a right of commanding the service of the princes of Germany.⁴² The Flemings, who were vassals of France, pretending like scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord, Edward, by the advice of D'Arteville, assumed, in his commissions, the title of King of France, and, in virtue of this right, claimed their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom.⁴³ This step, which he feared would destroy all future amity between the king-

⁴⁰ Cotton's Abridg.

⁴² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 35.

⁴¹ Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 146.

⁴³ Heming. p. 303. Walsing. p. 142.

doms, and beget endless and implacable jealousies in France, was not taken by him without much reluctance and hesitation; and, not being in itself very justifiable, it has, in the issue, been attended with many miseries to both kingdoms. From this period we may date the commencement of that great animosity which the English nation have ever since borne to the French, which has so visible an influence on all future transactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the spring of many rash and precipitate resolutions among them. In all the preceding reigns since the conquest, the hostilities between the two crowns had been only casual and temporary; and, as they had never been attended with any bloody or dangerous event, the traces of them were easily obliterated by the first treaty of pacification. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction; they affected to employ the language of that country in all public transactions, and even in familiar conversation; and, both the English court and camp being always full of nobles who came from different provinces of France, the two people were, during some centuries, more intermingled together than any two distinct nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal pretensions of Edward III. dissolved all these connections, and left the seeds of great animosity in both countries, especially among the English. For it is remarkable that this latter nation, though they were commonly the aggressors, and, by their success and situation, were enabled to commit the most cruel injuries on the other, have always retained a stronger tincture of national antipathy; nor is their hatred retaliated on them to an equal degree by the French. That country lies in the middle of Europe, has been successively engaged in hostilities with all its neighbors, the popular prejudices have been diverted into many channels, and, among a people of softer manners, they never rose to a great height against any particular nation.

Philip made great preparations against the attack from the English, and such as seemed more than sufficient to secure him from the danger. Besides the concurrence of all the nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were both more cordial and more powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The pope, who at this time lived at Avignon, was dependent on France, and, being disgusted at the connections between Edward and Lewis of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicated, he

embraced with zeal and sincerity the cause of the French monarch. The King of Navarre, the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Bar, were in the same interests; and on the side of Germany, the King of Bohemia, the Palatine, the Dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the Bishop of Liege, the Counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. The allies of Edward were in themselves weaker, and, having no object but his money, which began to be exhausted, they were slow in their motions and irresolute in their measures. [1339]. The Duke of Brabant, the most powerful among them, seemed even inclined to withdraw himself wholly from the alliance; and the king was necessitated both to give the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract his son Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could bring him to fulfil his engagements. The summer was wasted in conferences and negotiations before Edward could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his measures, to pretend that the first attack should be made upon Cambray, a city of the empire which had been garrisoned by Philip.⁴⁴ But finding, upon trial, the difficulty of the enterprise, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and he there saw, by a sensible proof, the vanity of his expectations: the Count of Namur, and even the Count of Hainault, his brother-in-law (for the old count was dead), refused to commence hostilities against their liege lord, and retired with their troops.⁴⁵ So little account did they make of Edward's pretensions to the crown of France!

The king, however, entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfosse, near Capelle, with an army of near fifty thousand men, composed almost entirely of foreigners. Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, composed chiefly of native subjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would ensue. But the English monarch was averse to engage against so great a superiority; the French thought it sufficient if he eluded the attacks of his enemy, without running any unnecessary hazard. The two armies faced each other for some days; mutual defiances were sent; and Edward at last retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.⁴⁶

Such was the fruitless and almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's mighty preparations; and as his measures were the most prudent that could be embraced in his situation,

⁴⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 39. Heming, p. 305.

⁴⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 39.

⁴⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 41, 42, 43. Heming, p. 307. Walsing. p. 143.

he might learn from experience in what a hopeless enterprise he was engaged. His expenses, though they had led to no end, had been consuming and destructive; he had contracted near three hundred thousand pounds of debt;⁴⁷ he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pawned everything of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; he was obliged, in some measure, even to pawn himself to his creditors by not sailing to England till he obtained their permission, and by promising, on his word of honor, to return in person if he did not remit their money.

But he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and he was anxious to retrieve his honor by more successful and more gallant enterprises. For this purpose he had, during the course of the campaign, sent orders to summon a Parliament by his son Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand some supply in his urgent necessities. The barons seemed inclined to grant his request; but the knights, who often, at this time, acted as a separate body from the burgesses, made some scruple of taxing their constituents without their consent; and they desired the guardian to summon a new Parliament which might be properly empowered for that purpose. The situation of the king and Parliament was, for the time, nearly similar to that which they constantly fell into about the beginning of the last century; and similar consequences began visibly to appear. The king, sensible of the frequent demands which he should be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to insure to his friends a seat in the House of Commons, and, at his instigation, the sheriffs and other placemen had made interest to be elected into that assembly—an abuse which the knights desired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of summons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a considerable retrenchment of the royal prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knighting the king's eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter. The new Parliament called by the guardian retained the same free spirit; and though they offered a large supply of thirty thousand sacks of wool, no business was concluded, because the conditions which they annexed appeared too high to be compensated by a temporary conces-

⁴⁷ Cotton's Abridg. p. 17.

sion. But when Edward himself came over to England, he summoned another Parliament, and he had the interest to procure a supply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters, and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of common law, were the chief conditions insisted on; and the king, in return for his concessions on these heads, obtained from the barons and knights as unusual grant for two years of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their estates, and from the burgesses a ninth of their movables at their true value. The whole Parliament also granted a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred woollfells, and on each last of leather, for the same term of years; but, dreading the arbitrary spirit of the crown, they expressly declared that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent. Being soon after sensible that this supply, though considerable, and very unusual in that age, would come in slowly, and would not answer the king's urgent necessities proceeding both from his debts and his preparations for war, they agreed that twenty thousand sacks of wool should immediately be granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninths which were afterwards to be levied.

But there appeared at this time another jealousy in the Parliament which was very reasonable, and was founded on a sentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than support the king in all those ambitious projects so little likely to prove successful, and so dangerous to the nation if they did. Edward, who, before the commencement of the former campaign, had, in several commissions, assumed the title of King of France, now more openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with those of England in his seals and ensigns. The Parliament thought proper to obviate the consequences of this measure, and to declare that they owed him no obedience as King of France, and that the two kingdoms must forever remain distinct and independent.⁴⁸ They undoubtedly foresaw that France, if subdued, would in the end prove the seat of government; and they deemed this previous protestation necessary in order to prevent their becoming a province to that monarchy. A frail security if the event had really taken place!

⁴⁸ 14. Edward III.

[1340.] As Philip was apprised, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men; and he stationed them off Sluise, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of two hundred and forty sail; but, whether it were by the superior abilities of Edward or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy and had the sun in their backs, and with these advantages began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody; the English archers, whose force and address were now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and when the ships grappled together, and the contest became more steady and furious, the example of the king, and of so many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to such a degree the seamen and soldiery that they maintained everywhere a superiority over the enemy. The French also had been guilty of some imprudence in taking their station so near the coast of Flanders, and choosing that place for the scene of action. The Flemings, descrying the battle, hurried out of their harbors, and brought a reinforcement to the English, which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken; thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals; the loss of the English was inconsiderable, compared to the greatness and importance of the victory.⁴⁹ None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event, till his fool or jester gave him a hint by which he discovered the loss that he had sustained.⁵⁰

The lustre of this great success increased the king's authority among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thousand men, consisting chiefly of foreigners—a more numerous army than either before or since has ever been commanded by any king of England.⁵¹ At the same time, the Flemings, to the number of fifty thousand men, marched out, under the command of Robert of Artois, and laid siege to St. Omer; but this tumultuary army, composed entirely of tradesmen inexperienced in war, was routed by a sally

⁴⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 51. Avesbury, p. 56. Heming. p. 321.

⁵⁰ Walsing. p. 148.

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. v. p. 197.

of the garrison, and, notwithstanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into such a panic that they were instantly dispersed, and never more appeared in the field. The enterprises of Edward, though not attended with so inglorious an issue, proved equally vain and fruitless. The King of France had assembled an army more numerous than the English; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by three monarchs, the Kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre;⁵² yet he still adhered to the prudent resolution of putting nothing to hazard; and, after throwing strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, he retired backwards, persuaded that the enemy, having wasted their force in some tedious and unsuccessful enterprise, would afford him an easy victory.

Tournay was at that time one of the most considerable cities of Flanders, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants, of all ages, who were affectionate to the French government; and, as the secret of Edward's design had not been strictly kept, Philip learned that the English, in order to gratify their Flemish allies, had intended to open the campaign with the siege of this place; he took care, therefore, to supply it with a garrison of fourteen thousand men, commanded by the bravest nobility of France; and he reasonably expected that these forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city against all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he commenced the siege, about the end of July, found everywhere an obstinate resistance; the valor of one side was encountered with equal valor by the other; every assault was repulsed, and proved unsuccessful; and the king was at last obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garrison and citizens, which had enabled them to defend themselves against his attacks, would but expose them to be the more easily reduced by famine.⁵³ The Count of Eu, who commanded in Tournay, as soon as he perceived that the English had formed this plan of operations, endeavored to save his provisions by expelling all the useless mouths; and the Duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's enterprises, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip, recalling all his scattered

⁵² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 57.

⁵³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 54.

garrisons, advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of still avoiding any decisive action, but of seeking some opportunity for throwing relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the small progress he had hitherto made, and with the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, sent Philip a defiance by a herald, and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied that, Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it by no means became him to send a defiance to his liege lord and sovereign; that he was confident, notwithstanding all Edward's preparations and his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, he himself should soon be able to chase him from the frontiers of France; that, as the hostilities from England had prevented him from executing his purposed crusade against the infidels, he trusted in the assistance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious intentions, and punish the aggressor, whose ill-grounded claims had rendered them abortive; that Edward proposed a duel on very unequal terms, and offered to hazard only his own person against both the kingdom of France and the person of the king; but that if he would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the duel, he would, notwithstanding that the terms would still be unequal, very willingly accept of the challenge.⁵⁴ It was easy to see that these mutual bravadoes were intended only to dazzle the populace, and that the two kings were too wise to think of executing their pretended purpose.

While the French and English armies lay in this situation, and a general action was every day expected, Jane, Countess Dowager of Hainault, interposed with her good offices, and endeavored to conciliate peace between the contending monarchs, and to prevent any further effusion of blood. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward and sister to Philip; and though she had taken the vows in a convent, and had renounced the world, she left her retreat on this occasion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay those animosities which had taken place between persons so nearly related to her and to each other. As Philip had no material claims on his antagonist, she found that he heark-

⁵⁴ Du Tillet, *Recueil de Traitez*, &c. Heming. pp. 325, 326. Walsing. p. 149.

ened willingly to the proposals ; and even the haughty and ambitious Edward, convinced of his fruitless attempt, was not averse to her negotiation. He was sensible, from experience, that he had engaged in an enterprise which far exceeded his force, and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over that of a superior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He discovered that all the allies whom he could gain by negotiation were at bottom averse to his enterprise, and, though they might second it to a certain length, would immediately detach themselves, and oppose its final accomplishment, if ever they could be brought to think that there was seriously any danger of it. He even saw that their chief purpose was to obtain money from him ; and as his supplies from England came in very slowly, and had much disappointed his expectations, he perceived their growing indifference in his cause, and their desire of embracing all plausible terms of accommodation. Convinced at last that an undertaking must be imprudent which could only be supported by means so unequal to the end, he concluded a truce which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions, and stopped all farther hostilities on the side of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland till midsummer next.⁵⁵ A negotiation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates ; and the truce was attempted to be converted into a solid peace. Edward here required that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely withdraw his protection from Scotland ; but as he seemed not anywise entitled to make such high demands, either from his past successes or future prospects, they were totally rejected by Philip, who agreed only to a prolongation of the truce.

The King of France soon after detached the Emperor Lewis from the alliance of England, and engaged him to revoke the title of Imperial Vicar which he had conferred on Edward.⁵⁶ The king's other allies on the frontiers of France, disappointed in their hopes, gradually withdrew from the confederacy. And Edward himself, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his escape by stealth into England.

The unusual tax of a ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece imposed by Parliament, together with the great want of money,

⁵⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 64. Avesbury, p. 65.

⁵⁶ Heming, p. 453. Ypod. Neust. p. 514. Knyghton, p. 2580.

and still more of credit, in England, had rendered the remittances to Flanders extremely backward ; nor could it be expected that any expeditious method of collecting an imposition which was so new in itself, and which yielded only a gradual produce, could possibly be contrived by the king or his ministers ; and though the Parliament, foreseeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a present resource, twenty thousand sacks of wool (the only English goods that bore a sure price in foreign markets, and were the next to ready money), it was impossible but the getting possession of such a bulky commodity, the gathering of it from different parts of the kingdom, and the disposing of it abroad, must take up more time than the urgency of the king's affairs would permit, and must occasion all the disappointments complained of during the course of the campaign. But though nothing had happened which Edward might not reasonably have foreseen, he was so irritated with the unfortunate issue of his military operations, and so much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he was determined to throw the blame somewhere off himself, and he came in very bad humor into England. He discovered his peevish disposition by the first act which he performed after his arrival : as he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower negligently guarded ; and he immediately committed to prison the constable and all others who had the charge of that fortress, and treated them with unusual rigor.⁵⁷ His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the sheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the undertakers of all kinds ; and besides dismissing all of them from their employments, he appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct ; and these men, in order to gratify the king's humor, were sure not to find any person innocent who came before them.⁵⁸ Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, Sir John Stonore, chief justice, Andrew Aubrey, mayor of London, were displaced and imprisoned ; as were also the Bishop of Chichester, chancellor, and the Bishop of Lichfield, treasurer. Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new taxes had been chiefly intrusted, fell likewise under the king's displeasure ; but, being absent at the time of Edward's arrival, he escaped feeling the immediate effects of it.

There were strong reasons which might discourage the

⁵⁷ Ypod. Neust. p. 513.

⁵⁸ Avesbury, p. 70. Heming. p. 326. Walsing. p. 150.

kings of England, in those ages, from bestowing the chief offices of the crown on prelates and other ecclesiastical persons. These men had so entrenched themselves in privileges and immunities, and so openly challenged an exemption from all secular jurisdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malversation in office; and as even treason itself was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a sufficient reason for deprivation or other spiritual censures, that order of men had insured to themselves an almost total impunity, and were not bound by any political law or statute. But, on the other hand, there were many peculiar causes which favored their promotion. Besides that they possessed almost all the learning of the age, and were best qualified for civil employments, the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greatest barons, and gave weight, by their personal authority, to the powers intrusted with them; while, at the same time, they did not endanger the crown by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were restrained, by the decency of their character, from that open rapine and violence so often practised by the nobles. These motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predecessors, to intrust the chief departments of government in the hands of ecclesiastics, at the hazard of seeing them disown his authority as soon as it was turned against them.

[1341.] This was the case with Archbishop Stratford. That prelate, informed of Edward's indignation against him, prepared himself for the storm; and, not content with standing upon the defensive, he resolved, by beginning the attack, to show the king that he knew the privileges of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who, on any pretext, exercised violence on the person or goods of clergymen; who infringed those privileges secured by the great charter and by ecclesiastical canons; or who accused a prelate of treason, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's displeasure.⁵⁹ Even Edward had reason to think himself struck at by this sentence, both on account of the imprisonment of the two bishops and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his seizing their lands and movables, that he might make them answerable for any balance which remained in their hands. The clergy, with the primate at their head, were

⁵⁹ Heming. p. 339. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. pp. 21, 22. Walsing, p. 153.

now formed into a regular combination against the king; and many calumnies were spread against him, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of his people. It was pretended that he meant to recall the general pardon and the remission which he had granted of old debts, and to impose new and arbitrary taxes without consent of Parliament. The archbishop went so far, in a letter to the king himself, as to tell him that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apostolic dignity and the royal subordinate authority; that, of these two powers, the clerical was evidently the supreme, since the priests were to answer at the tribunal of the Divine judgment for the conduct of kings themselves; that the clergy were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful, and, amongst others, of kings and princes, and were entitled, by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to censure their transgressions; and that prelates had heretofore cited emperors before their tribunal, had sitten in judgment on their life and behavior, and had anathematized them for their obstinate offences.⁶⁰ These topics were not well calculated to appease Edward's indignation; and when he called a Parliament, he sent not to the primates, as to the other peers, a summons to attend it. Stratford was not discouraged at this mark of neglect or anger; he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the crosier in his hand, and accompanied by a pompous train of priests and prelates; and he required admittance as the first and highest peer in the realm. During two days the king rejected his application; but sensible either that this affair might be attended with dangerous consequences or that, in his impatience, he had groundlessly accused the primate of malversation in his office, which seems really to have been the case, he at last permitted him to take his seat, and was reconciled to him.⁶¹

Edward now found himself in a bad situation both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms, his nearest neighbors; he had lost almost all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments; he was deeply involved in debts, for which he owed a consuming interest; his military operations had vanished

⁶⁰ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 27.

⁶¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39, 40, 41.

into smoke, and, except his naval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown either to himself or to the nation; the animosity between him and the clergy was open and declared; the people were discontented on account of many arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged; and, what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. But the aspiring genius of Edward, which had so far transported him beyond the bounds of discretion, proved at last sufficient to reinstate him in his former authority, and, finally, to render his reign the most triumphant that is to be met with in English story; though for the present he was obliged, with some loss of honor, to yield to the current which bore so strongly against him.

The Parliament framed an act which was likely to produce considerable innovations in the government. They premised that, whereas the great charter had, to the manifest peril and slander of the king and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the imprisonment of free men and the seizure of their goods without suit, indictment, or trial, it was necessary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the steward and chamberlain of the household, the keeper of the privy seal, the comptroller and treasurer of the wardrobe, and those who were intrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to the regular observance of it. They also remarked that the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested and imprisoned, and dispossessed of their temporalities and lands, and even some of them put to death, without judgment or trial; and they therefore enacted that such violences should henceforth cease, and no peer be punished but by the award of his peers *in Parliament*. They required that, whenever any of the great offices above mentioned became vacant the king should fill it by the advice of his council and the consent of such barons as should at that time be found to reside in the neighborhood of the court; and they enacted that, on the third day of every session, the king should resume into his own hand all these offices except those of justices of the two benches and the barons of exchequer; that the ministers should for the time be reduced to private persons; that they should in that condition answer before Parliament to any accusation brought

against them ; and that, if they were found anywise guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their offices, and more able persons be substituted in their place.⁶² By these last regulations the barons approached as near as they durst to those restrictions which had formerly been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II., and which, from the dangerous consequences attending them, had become so generally odious that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding them or the assent of the present king in granting them.

In return for these important concessions, the Parliament offered the king a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool ; and his wants were so urgent, from the clamors of his creditors and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full Parliament ; but he *secretly* entered a protest of such a nature as was sufficient, one should imagine, to destroy all future trust and confidence with his people ; he declared that, as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him⁶³ Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply than he issued an edict which contains many extraordinary positions and pretensions. He first asserts that that statute had been enacted contrary to law ; as if a free legislative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms that, as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had sworn to defend, he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never in his own breast given his assent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the Parliament lay under force ; but only that some inconvenience would have ensued had he not seemingly affixed his sanction to that pretended statute. He therefore, with the advice of his council and of *some* earls and barons, abrogates and annuls it ; and, though he professes himself willing and determined to observe such articles of it as were formerly law, he declares it to have thenceforth no force or authority.⁶⁴ The Parliaments that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, which, by a parity of reason, left all their laws at the mercy of the

⁶² 15 Edward III.

⁶³ Statutes at Large, 15 Edward III. That this protest of the king's was *secret* appears evidently, since otherwise it would have been ridiculous in the Parliament to have accepted of his assent ; besides, the king owns that he *dissembled*, which would not have been the case had his protest been public.

⁶⁴ Statutes at Large, 15 Edward III.

king; and, during the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from his Parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute.⁶⁵ This transaction certainly contains remarkable circumstances which discover the manners and sentiments of the age, and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from such rude hands when employed in legislation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and a constitution.

But though Edward had happily recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the events of the French war, he had undergone so many mortifications from that attempt, and saw so little prospect of success, that he would probably have dropped his claim had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprising genius a full opportunity of displaying itself.

John III., Duke of Brittany, had, during some years, found himself declining through age and infirmities; and, having no issue, he was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. His younger brother, the Count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir; and, as his family had inherited the duchy by a female succession, he thought her title preferable to that of the Count of Mountfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was the male heir of that principality.⁶⁶ He accordingly purposed to bestow his niece in marriage on some person who might be able to defend her rights; and he cast his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew of the King of France by his mother, Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch. But as he both loved his subjects and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important step without their approbation; and having assembled the states of Brittany, he represented to them the advantages of that alliance, and the prospect which it gave of an entire settlement of the succession. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice; the marriage was concluded; all his vassals, and among the rest the Count of Mountfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns; and every danger of civil commotions seemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy against them.

But, on the death of this good prince, the ambition of

⁶⁵ Cotton's Abridg. pp. 38, 39.

⁶⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 64.

the Count of Mountfort broke through all these regulations, and kindled a war not only dangerous to Brittany, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, Mountfort was active in acquiring immediate possession of it; and by force or intrigue he made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, Hennebonne, and all the most important fortresses, and engaged many considerable barons to acknowledge his authority.⁶⁷ Sensible that he could expect no favor from Philip, he made a voyage to England on pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there, offering to do homage to Edward, as King of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Mountfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries, who had no sincere attachment to his cause, and whose progress was also obstructed by those numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforcing these considerations; the ambitious spirit of Edward was little disposed to sit down under those repulses which he had received, and which, he thought, had so much impaired his reputation; and it required a very short negotiation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.⁶⁸

As this treaty was still a secret, Mountfort, on his return, ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cause before the court of peers; but observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, and dreading their intentions of arresting him till he should restore what he had seized by violence, he suddenly made his escape; and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois.⁶⁹ Philip sent his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the assistance of the latter; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field against his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged.

⁶⁷ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 65, 66, 67, 68.

⁶⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 63.

⁶⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 70, 71.

The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Mountfort fell into the hands of his enemies, was conducted as a prisoner to Paris, and was shut up in the tower of the Louvre.⁷⁰

[1342.] This event seemed to put an end to the pretensions of the Court of Mountfort; but his affairs were immediately retrieved by an unexpected incident, which inspired new life and vigor into his party. Jane of Flanders, Countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of the age, was roused, by the captivity of her husband, from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto limited her genius, and she courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. No sooner did she receive the fatal intelligence than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and, carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign. She recommended to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male remaining of their ancient princes, who had governed them with such indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause; discovered the resources which still remained in the alliance of England; and entreated them to make one effort against a usurper who, being imposed on them by the arms of France, would in return make a sacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Brittany. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance and inspirited by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family; all the other fortresses of Brittany embraced the same resolution; the countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and, after she had put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succors which Edward had promised her. Meanwhile she sent over her son to England, that she might both put him in a place of safety and engage the king more strongly, by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and still more to take the countess prisoner, from whose vigor and capacity all the

⁷⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 73.

difficulties to his succession in Brittany now proceeded, sat down before the place with a great army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons; and he conducted the attack with indefatigable industry.⁷¹ The defence was no less vigorous; the besiegers were repulsed in every assault: frequent sallies were made with success by the garrison; and, the countess herself being the most forward in all military operations, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost in this desperate situation. One day she perceived that the besiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp; and she immediately sallied forth at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confusion, did great execution upon them, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; but when she was preparing to return, she found that she was intercepted, and that a considerable body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She instantly took her resolution; she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way by flight to Brest; she met them at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebonne, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by so rare an example of female valor, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The reiterated attacks, however, of the besiegers had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was every hour expected, would overpower the garrison, diminished in numbers and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation; and the Bishop of Leon was already engaged, for that purpose, in a conference with Charles of Blois, when the countess, who had mounted to a high tower and was looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed, "Behold the succors! the English succors! No capitulation!"⁷² This fleet had on board a body of heavy armed cavalry and six thousand archers whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbor under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and, having inspired

⁷¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 81.

⁷² Ibid.

fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from all their posts, and obliged them to decamp.

But notwithstanding this success, the Countess of Mountfort found that their party, overpowered by numbers, was declining in every quarter; and she went over to solicit more effectual succors from the King of England. Edward granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships and sailed to Brittany. He was met in his passage by the enemy; an action ensued, where the countess behaved with her wonted valor, and charged the enemy sword in hand; but the hostile fleets, after a sharp action, were separated by a storm, and the English arrived safely in Brittany. The first exploit of Robert was the taking of Vannes, which he mastered by conduct and address;⁷³ but he survived a very little time this prosperity. The Breton noblemen of the party of Charles assembled secretly in arms, attacked Vannes of a sudden, and carried the place; chiefly by reason of a wound received by Robert, of which he soon after died at sea on his return to England.⁷⁴

After the death of this unfortunate prince, the chief author of all the calamities with which his country was overwhelmed for more than a century, Edward undertook, in person, the defence of the Countess of Mountfort; and as the last truce with France was now expired, the war, which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. The king landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men; and, being master of the field, he endeavored to give a lustre to his arms by commencing at once three important sieges: that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But, by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. Even the siege of Vannes, which Edward in person conducted with vigor, advanced but slowly,⁷⁵ and the French had all the leisure requisite for making preparations against him. The Duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, appeared in Brittany, at the head of an army of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; and Edward was now obliged to draw together all his forces, and to intrench himself strongly before Vannes, where the

⁷³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 93.

⁷⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 95.

⁷⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 94.

Duke of Normandy soon after arrived, and in a manner invested the besiegers. The garrison and the French camp were plentifully supplied with provisions; while the English, who durst not make any attempt upon the place in the presence of a superior army, drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy. [1343.] In this dangerous situation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the pope's legates, the Cardinals of Palestine and Frescati, who endeavored to negotiate, if not a peace, at least a truce between the two kingdoms. A treaty was concluded for a cessation of arms during three years;⁷⁶ and Edward had the abilities, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation, to procure to himself very equal and honorable terms. It was agreed that Vannes should be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be disposed of afterwards as they pleased; and though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagonists, he saved himself by this device, from the dishonor of having undertaken a fruitless enterprise. It was also stipulated that all prisoners should be released, that the places in Brittany should remain in the hands of the present possessors, and that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the truce.⁷⁷ Edward, soon after concluding this treaty, embarked with his army for England.

The truce, though calculated for a long time, was of very short duration, and each monarch endeavored to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. Of course the historians of the two countries differ in their account of the matter. It seems probable, however, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in consenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himself from a perilous situation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careless in observing it. In all the memorials which remain on this subject he complains chiefly of the punishment inflicted on Oliver de Clisson, John de Montauban, and other Breton noblemen, who, he says, were partisans of the family of Mountfort, and consequently under the protection of England.⁷⁸ But it appears that, at the conclusion of the truce, those noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cause of Charles of Blois;⁷⁹ and if

⁷⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 99. Avesbury, p. 102.

⁷⁷ Heming. p. 359.

⁷⁸ Rymer, vol. v. pp. 453, 454, 459, 466, 496. Heming. p. 376.

⁷⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 96, p. 100.

they had entered into any secret correspondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were justly punishable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith; nor had Edward any ground of complaint against France for such severities. [1344.] But when he laid these pretended injuries before the Parliament, whom he affected to consult on all occasions, that assembly entered into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of the war: the counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, and the boroughs with a tenth; the clergy consented to give a tenth for three years.

These supplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations; and he sent his cousin Henry, Earl of Derby, son of the Earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province.⁸⁰ This prince, the most accomplished in the English court, possessed to a high degree the virtues of justice and humanity, as well as those of valor and conduct,⁸¹ and not content with protecting and cherishing the province committed to his care, he made a successful invasion on the enemy. He attacked the Count of Lisle, the French general, at Bergerac, beat him from his intrenchments, and took the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord, and continually advanced in his conquests till the Count of Lisle, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, sat down before Auberoche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the English. [1345.] The Earl of Derby came upon him, by surprise, with only a thousand cavalry, threw the French into disorder, pushed his advantages, and obtained a complete victory. Lisle himself, with many considerable nobles, was taken prisoner.⁸² After this important success, Derby made a rapid progress in subduing the French provinces. He took Monsegur, Monsepat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortress of Damassen. Aiguillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was surrendered after a short siege. The only place where he met with considerable resistance was Reole, which, however, was at last re-

⁸⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 103. Avesbury, p. 121.

⁸¹ It is reported of this prince that, having once, before the attack of the town, promised the soldiers the plunder, one private man happened to fall upon a great chest full of money, which he immediately brought to the earl, as thinking it too great for himself to keep possession of it. But Derby told him, that his promise did not depend on the greatness or smallness of the sum; and ordered him to keep it all for his own use.

⁸² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 104.

duced after a siege of above nine weeks.⁸³ He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raise the siege than waste his time before a place of small importance.⁸⁴

[1346.] The reason why Derby was permitted to make, without opposition, such progress on the side of Guienne was the difficulties under which the French finances then labored, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impositions, particularly the duty on salt, to the great discontent, and almost mutiny, of his subjects. But after the court of France was supplied with money, great preparations were made; and the Duke of Normandy, attended by the Duke of Burgundy and other great nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army which the English could not think of resisting in the open field. The Earl of Derby stood on the defensive, and allowed the French to carry on, at leisure, the siege of Angouleme, which was their first enterprise. John, Lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himself reduced to such extremities as obliged him to employ a stratagem in order to save his garrison, and to prevent his being reduced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desired a parley with the Duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich, that he supposed he intended to capitulate. "Not at all," replied the governor; "but as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, sir, as well as myself, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." The proposal was agreed to; and Norwich, having ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched out next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers, imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich sent a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himself on faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, "I see the governor has outwitted me; but let us be content with gaining the place;" and the English were allowed to pass through the camp unmolested.⁸⁵ After some other successes, the Duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon; and as the natural strength of the fortress, together with a brave garrison under the command of the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny, rendered it impossible to take the place by assault, he purposed, after making several fruitless

⁸³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 110.

⁸⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 120.

⁸⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 112.

attacks,⁸⁶ to reduce it by famine ; but, before he could finish this enterprise, he was called to another quarter of the kingdom by one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the French monarchy.⁸⁷

Edward, informed by the Earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was exposed, had prepared a force with which he intended, in person, to bring it relief. He embarked, at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail of all dimensions, and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary ;⁸⁸ and the king, in despair of arriving in time at Guienne, was at last persuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt to change the destination of his enterprise. This nobleman was a Norman by birth, had long made a considerable figure in the court of France, and was generally esteemed for his personal merit and his valor ; but, being disobliged and persecuted by Philip, he had fled into England ; had recommended himself to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men ; and had succeeded to Robert of Artois in the invidious office of exciting and assisting the king in every enterprise against his native country. He had long insisted that an expedition to Normandy promised, in the present circumstances, more favorable success than one to Guienne ; that Edward would find the northern provinces almost destitute of military force, which had been drawn to the south ; that they were full of flourishing cities, whose plunder would enrich the English ; that their cultivated fields, as yet unspoiled by war, would supply them with plenty of provisions ; and that the neighborhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in those quarters.⁸⁹ These reasons, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impression after the disappointments which he met with in his voyage to Guienne : he ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue.

This army, which, during the course of the ensuing campaign, was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish. The Welsh and the Irish were light, disorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or scouring the country, than for any stable action. The bow was always esteemed a

⁸⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 121.

⁸⁸ Avesbury, p. 123.

⁸⁷ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 134.

⁸⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 121.

frivolous weapon where true military discipline was known and regular bodies of well-armed foot maintained. The only solid force in this army were the men at arms; and even these, being cavalry, were, on that account, much inferior, in the shock of battle, to good infantry; and as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of those ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itself, the sole object of general attention.

The king created the Earl of Arundel constable of his army, and the Earls of Warwick and Harcourt mareschals; he bestowed the honor of knighthood on the Prince of Wales and several of the young nobility, immediately upon his landing. After destroying all the ships in La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded license of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters. The loose discipline then prevalent could not be much hurt by these disorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any surprise, by giving orders to his troops, however they might disperse themselves in the daytime, always to quarter themselves at night near the main body. In this manner, Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin were pillaged without resistance, and an universal consternation was spread over the province.⁹⁰

The intelligence of this unexpected invasion soon reached Paris, and threw Philip into great perplexity. He issued orders, however, for levying forces in all quarters, and despatched the Count of Eu, constable of France, and the Count of Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caën, a populous and commercial but open city which lay in the neighborhood of the English army. The temptation of so rich a prize soon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and by the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But their courage failed them on the first shock; they fled with precipitation; the Counts of Eu and Tancarville were taken prisoners; the victors entered the city along with the vanquished, and a furious massacre commenced, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The citizens, in despair, barricaded their houses, and assaulted the English with stones, bricks, and

⁹⁰ Froissart, liv. 1. chap. 122.

every missile weapon ; the English made way by fire to the destruction of the citizens, till Edward, anxious to save both his spoil and his soldiers, stopped the massacre ; and, having obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops license to begin a more regular and less hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days : the king reserved for his own share the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and fine linen ; and he bestowed all the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ships, and sent over to England, together with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caën, whose ransom was an additional profit which he expected afterwards to levy.⁹¹ This dismal scene passed in the presence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negotiate a peace between the kingdoms.

The king moved next to Roüen, in hopes of treating that city in the same manner ; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the King of France himself was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying the whole country and every town and village which he met with on his road.⁹² Some of his light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of Paris ; and the royal palace of St. Germain, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and other villages, was reduced to ashes within sight of the capital. The English intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now saw that the French meant to enclose him in their country, in hopes of attacking him with advantage on all sides ; but he saved himself by a stratagem from this perilous situation. He gave his army orders to dislodge, and to advance farther up the Seine ; but immediately returning by the same road, he arrived at Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, passed over his army, and, having thus disengaged himself from the enemy, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Harcourt, met with the townsmen of Amiens, who were hastening to reinforce their king, and defeated them with great slaughter ;⁹³ he passed by Beauvais, and burned the suburbs of

⁹¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 124.

⁹² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 125.

⁹³ Ibid.

that city ; but as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before ; all the bridges on that river were either broken down or strongly guarded ; an army, under the command of Godemar de Faye, was stationed on the opposite banks ; Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter, with an army of a hundred thousand men ; and he was thus exposed to the danger of being enclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country. In this extremity he published a reward to any one that should bring him intelligence of a passage over the Somme. A peasant called Gobin Agace, whose name has been preserved by the share which he had in these important transactions, was tempted, on this occasion, to betray the interests of his country ; and he informed Edward of a ford below Abbeville which had a sound bottom, and might be passed without difficulty at low water.⁹⁴ The king hastened thither, but found Godemar de Faye on the opposite banks. Being urged by necessity, he deliberated not a moment, but threw himself into the river, sword in hand, at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain.⁹⁵ The French army under Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing : so narrow was the escape which Edward, by his prudence and celerity, made from this danger ! The rising of the tide prevented the French king from following him over the ford, and obliged that prince to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which some time was lost.

It is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch ; and as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent resolution : he chose his ground, with advantage, near the village of Crecy ; he disposed his army in excellent order ; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy ; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat, after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some

⁹⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 126, 127.

⁹⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 127.

rash and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, and under him by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the Lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen; the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the Lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line; he took to himself the command of the third division, by which he purposed either to bring succor to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.⁹⁶

The skill and order of this disposition, with the tranquillity in which it was made, served extremely to compose the minds of the soldiers; and the king, that he might farther inspirit them, rode through the ranks with such an air of cheerfulness and alacrity as conveyed the highest confidence into every beholder. He pointed out to them the necessity to which they were reduced, and the certain and inevitable destruction which awaited them if, in their present situation, enclosed on all hands in an enemy's country, they trusted to anything but their own valor, or gave that enemy an opportunity of taking revenge for the many insults and indignities which they had of late put upon him. He reminded them of the visible ascendant which they had hitherto maintained over all the bodies of French troops that had fallen in their way, and assured them that the superior numbers of the army which at present hovered over them gave them not greater force, but was an advantage easily compensated by the order in which he had placed his own army, and the resolution which he expected from them. He demanded nothing, he said, but that they would imitate his own example and that of the Prince of Wales; and as the honor, the lives, the liberties of all were now exposed to the same danger, he was confident that they would make one common effort to extricate themselves from the present difficulties, and that their united courage would give them the victory over all their enemies.

It is related by some historians⁹⁷ that Edward, besides the

⁹⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 128.

⁹⁷ Jean Villani, lib. xii. cap. 66.

resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe. This is the epoch of one of the most singular discoveries that has been made among men, a discovery which changed by degrees the whole art of war, and by consequence many circumstances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts rendered the progress of this new invention very slow. The artillery first framed were so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that men were not immediately sensible of their use and efficacy; and even to the present times, improvements have been continually making on this furious engine, which, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind and the overthrow of empires, has, in the issue, rendered battles less bloody, and has given greater stability to civil societies. Nations by its means have been brought more to a level; conquests have become less frequent and rapid; success in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation overmatched by its enemies either yields to their demands or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.

The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England;⁹⁸ but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as an useless encumbrance. All his other movements discovered the same imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counsellor, and trusting to the great superiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English, and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his side was certain and inevitable. He made a hasty march, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy returned to him, and brought him intelligence that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They therefore advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the former precipitation

⁹⁸ Du Cange, *Gloss, in verb.* Bombarda.

of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it into execution. One division pressed upon another; orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them; this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by the Count of Alençon, brother to the king; the king himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were no less than three crowned heads in this engagement: the King of Bohemia, the King of the Romans, his son, and the King of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above one hundred and twenty thousand men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendor.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immovable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese crossbows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the Count of Alençon,⁹⁹ who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. The artillery fired amidst the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be seen in that vast body but hurry and confusion, terror and dismay. The young Prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering somewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and, having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and, by their superior numbers, began to hem them round. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an

⁹⁹ Froissart, liv. i. p. 130.

example of valor which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the Earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succors to the relief of the prince. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill; and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince were slain or wounded? On receiving an answer in the negative, "Return," said he, "to my son, and tell him I reserve the honor of the day to him; I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honor of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him; he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy."¹⁰⁰ This speech, being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage; they made an attack with redoubled vigor on the French, in which the Count of Alençon was slain; that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder; the riders were killed or dismounted; the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.¹⁰¹

The King of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother; he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himself a horse killed under him. He was remounted; and, though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat, when John of Hainault seized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave son! persevere in your honorable course: you are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day: you have shown yourself worthy of empire."¹⁰²

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the English observed that many of the enemy had lost their

¹⁰⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 130.¹⁰¹ Ibid.¹⁰² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 131.

way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had taken in the battle, and all who were allured by this false signal were put to the sword, and no quarter given them. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French king had given like orders to his troops; but the real reason probably was that the English, in their present situation, did not choose to be encumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle, and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, besides about thirty thousand of inferior rank;¹⁰³ many of the principal nobility of France, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable; he was blind from age; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body and those of his attendants were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation.¹⁰⁴ His crest was three ostrich feathers and his motto these German words, *Ich dien* (I serve), which the Prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English than for the great slaughter of the French; there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights,¹⁰⁵ and very few of inferior rank—a demonstration that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom as might afterwards open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne; he had experi-

¹⁰³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 131. Knyghton, p. 2588.

¹⁰⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 130. Walsing. p. 166.

¹⁰⁵ Knyghton, p. 2588.

enced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of D'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves; his former partisans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to the Prince of Wales.¹⁰⁶ The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with everything necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine; he chose a secure station for his camp, drew intrenchments around the whole city, raised huts for his soldiers, which he covered with straw or broom, and provided his army with all the conveniences necessary to make them endure the winter season, which was approaching. As the governor soon perceived his intention, he expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, and he even supplied them with money for their journey.¹⁰⁷

While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many other events, and all to the honor of the English arms.

The retreat of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne left the Earl of Derby master of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the superiority. He took Mirebeau by assault; he made himself master of Lusignan in the same manner; Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; Poitiers opened its gates to him; and Derby, having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with horror and devastation.¹⁰⁸

The flames of war were at the same time kindled in Brittany. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a considerable army, and invested the fortress of Roche de

¹⁰⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 136.

¹⁰⁷ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 133.

Rien; but the Countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner.¹⁰⁹ His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Brittany, compelled by the present necessity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herself a rival in every shape, and an antagonist, to the Countess of Mountfort both in the field and in the cabinet. And while these heroic dames presented this extraordinary scene to the world, another princess in England, of still higher rank, showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The Scottish nation, after long defending, with incredible perseverance, their liberties against the superior force of the English, recalled their king, David Bruce, in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great assistance, he gave them the countenance of sovereign authority; and as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diversion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip the King of Scotland was comprehended; and when Edward made his last invasion upon France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to begin also hostilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of his nation being always forward in such incursions, David soon mustered a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above fifty thousand men, and carried his ravages and devastations to the gates of Durham.¹¹⁰ But Queen Philippa, assembling a body of little more than twelve thousand men,¹¹¹ which she intrusted to the command of Lord Piercy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Cross near that city; and, riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers.¹¹² Nor could she be persuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the English, even though they commonly declined such engagements where the superiority of numbers was not on their side; but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. They

¹⁰⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 143. Walsing. p. 168. Ypod. Neust. pp. 517, 518.

¹¹⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 137.

¹¹¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 138.

¹¹² Ibid.

were broken and chased off the field; fifteen thousand of them, some historians say twenty thousand, were slain, among whom were Edward Keith, earl mareschal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor; and the king himself was taken prisoner, with the Earls of Sutherland, Fife, Monteith, Carric, Lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.¹¹³

Philippa, having secured her royal prisoner in the Tower,¹¹⁴ crossed the sea at Dover, and was received in the English camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry; Edward's court excelled in these accomplishments as much as in policy and arms; and if any thing could justify the obsequious devotion then professed to the fair sex, it must be the appearance of such extraordinary women as shone forth during that period.

[1347.] The town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery by the townsmen during a siege of unusual length; but Philip, informed of their distressed condition, determined at last to attempt their relief, and he approached the English with an immense army, which the writers of that age make amount to two hundred thousand men. But he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and secured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable destruction, he concluded it impossible to make an attempt on the English camp. He had no other resource than to send his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field, which being refused, he was obliged to decamp with his army and disperse them into their several provinces.¹¹⁵

John of Vienne, governor of Calais, now saw the necessity of surrendering his fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared on the walls, and made a signal to the English sentinels that he desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by Edward. "Brave knight," cried the governor, "I have been intrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town; it is almost a year since you besieged me, and I have endeavored, as well as those under me, to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our present condition; we have no hopes of relief; we are perishing with hunger; I am willing, therefore, to surrender, and desire as the sole condition to insure the lives and liberties

¹¹³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 139.

¹¹⁴ Rymer, vol. v. p. 537.

¹¹⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 144, 145. Avesbury, pp. 161, 162.

of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue." ¹¹⁶

Manny replied that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the King of England; that that prince was incensed against the townsmen of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, and for the evils which they had made him and his subjects suffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them, and would not receive the town on any condition which should confine him in the punishment of these offenders. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled; if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince, much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you that, if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged, and that we are not yet so reduced but we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was struck with the justness of these sentiments, and represented to the king the danger of reprisals if he should give such treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at last persuaded to mitigate the rigor of the conditions demanded; he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder. ¹¹⁷

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it struck the inhabitants with new consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow-citizens to certain destruction for signaling their valor in a common cause appeared to them even more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded, stepped forth and declared himself willing to encounter death for

¹¹⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 146.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

the safety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate, and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led to execution. It is surprising that so generous a prince should ever have entertained such a barbarous purpose against such men, and still more that he should seriously persist in the resolution of executing it.¹¹⁸ But the entreaties of his queen saved his memory from that infamy; she threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.¹¹⁹

The king took possession of Calais, and immediately executed an act of rigor more justifiable, because more necessary, than that which he had before resolved on. He knew that, notwithstanding his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as a mortal enemy; he therefore ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with English—a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was any considerable demand in foreign markets. All the English were obliged to bring thither these goods; foreign merchants came to the same place in order to purchase them; and at a period when posts were not established, and when the communication between states was so imperfect, this institution, though it hurt the navigation of England, was probably of advantage to the kingdom.

[1348.] Through the mediation of the pope's legates, Edward concluded a truce with France; but even during this cessation of arms he had very nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his boasted victories. The king had intrusted that place to Aimery de Pavie, an Italian who had discovered bravery and conduct in the wars, but was utterly destitute of every principle of honor and fidelity. This man agreed to deliver up Calais for the sum of twenty thousand crowns; and Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded the

¹¹⁸ See note [A] at the end of the volume.

¹¹⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 146.

French forces in those quarters, and who knew that, if he succeeded in this service, he should not be disavowed, ventured, without consulting his master, to conclude the bargain with him. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of Aimery's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences, and, having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, secretly departed from London, carrying with him the Prince of Wales, and, without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais. He made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces and the garrison under arms. On the appearance of Charui, a chosen band of French soldiers was admitted at the postern; and Aimery, receiving the stipulated sum, promised that, with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. [1349.] All the French who entered were immediately slain or taken prisoners; the great gate opened; Edward rushed forth with cries of battle and of victory; the French, though astonished at the event, behaved with valor; a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribau mont, who exerted himself with singular vigor and bravery; and he was seized with a desire of trying a single combat with him. He stepped forth from his troop, and, challenging Ribau mont by name (for he was known to him), began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valor of the Frenchman; he twice recovered himself; blows were redoubled with equal force on both sides; the victory was long undecided, till Ribau mont, perceiving himself to be left almost alone called, out to his antagonist, "Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner;" and at the same time delivered his sword to the king. Most of the French, being overpowered by numbers and intercepted in their retreat, lost either their lives or their liberty.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 140, 141, 142.

The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were conducted into Calais, where Edward discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had had the honor to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. They were admitted to sup with the Prince of Wales and the English nobility; and after supper the king himself came into the apartment, and went about, conversing familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He even addressed himself to Charni, and avoided reproaching him in too severe terms with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce; but he openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribaumont, called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with, and confessed that he himself had at no time been in so great danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, "Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery, and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake. I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels; let them all know from what hand you had the present; you are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom, and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper."

Nothing proves more evidently the vast superiority assumed by the nobility and gentry above all the other orders of men during those ages than the extreme difference which Edward made in his treatment of these French knights, and that of the six citizens of Calais who had exerted more signal bravery in a cause more justifiable and more honorable.

CHAPTER XVI.

INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER.—STATE OF FRANCE.—BATTLE OF POICTIERS.—CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—STATE OF THAT KINGDOM.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE OF BRETIGNI.—STATE OF FRANCE.—EXPEDITION INTO CASTILE.—RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.—ILL SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH.—DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—DEATH—AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

THE prudent conduct and great success of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a strong emulation and a military genius among the English nobility; and these turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more useful direction to their ambition, and attached themselves to a prince who led them to the acquisition of riches and of glory. That he might farther promote the spirit of emulation and obedience, the king instituted the order of the garter, in imitation of some orders of a like nature, religious as well as military, which had been established in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons besides the sovereign; and as it has never been enlarged, this badge of distinction continues as honorable as at its first institution, and is still a valuable though a cheap present which the prince can confer on his greatest subjects. A vulgar story prevails, but is not supported by any ancient authority, that at a court-ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the Countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favor merely by accident, upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense* (Evil to him that evil thinks); and as every incident of gallantry among those gallant warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance,¹ he instituted the order of the garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. This origin, though frivolous, is not

¹ See note [B] at the end of the volume.

unsuitable to the manners of the times; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which seems to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament.

But a sudden damp was thrown over this festivity and triumph of the court of England by a destructive pestilence which invaded that kingdom, as well as the rest of Europe, and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. It was probably more fatal in great cities than in the country; and above fifty thousand souls are said to have perished by it in London alone.² This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state through which it passed. So grievous a calamity, more than the pacific disposition of the princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.

During this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his bad success against England had thrown into extreme disorder. This monarch, during the first years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of *Fortunate* and acquired the character of prudent; but he ill maintained either the one or the other, less from his own fault than because he was overmatched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John gave the French nation cause to regret even the calamitous times of his predecessor. John was distinguished by many virtues, particularly a scrupulous honor and fidelity. He was not deficient in personal courage; but as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions and oppressed with foreign wars. The chief source of its calamities was Charles, King of Navarre, who received the epithet of the *bad* or *wicked*, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. This prince was descended from males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin; [1354.] he had himself espoused a daughter of King John; but all these

² Stow's Survey, p. 478. There were buried fifty thousand bodies in one church-yard which Sir Walter Manny had bought for the use of the poor. The same author says that there died above fifty thousand persons of the plague in Norwich, which is quite incredible.

ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. With regard to his personal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent: full of insinuation and address; inexhaustible in his resources; active and enterprising. But these splendid accomplishments were attended with such defects as rendered them pernicious to his country, and even ruinous to himself. He was volatile, inconstant, faithless, revengeful, malicious; restrained by no principle or duty; insatiable in his pretensions; and whether successful or unfortunate in one enterprise, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the most criminal and most dishonorable expedients.

The constable of Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caën, recovered his liberty on the promise of delivering as his ransom the town of Guisnes, near Calais, of which he was superior lord; but as John was offended at this stipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened still farther that frontier to the enemy, and as he suspected the constable of more dangerous connections with the King of England, he ordered him to be seized, and, without any legal or formal trial, put him to death in prison. Charles de la Cerda was appointed constable in his place, and had a like fatal end. The King of Navarre ordered him to be assassinated; and such was the weakness of the crown that this prince, instead of dreading punishment, would not even agree to ask pardon for his offence but on condition that he should receive an accession of territory; and he had also John's second son put into his hands as a security for his person, when he came to court, and performed this act of mock penitence and humiliation before his sovereign.³

[1355.] The two French princes seemed entirely reconciled; but this dissimulation, to which John submitted from necessity and Charles from habit, did not long continue, and the King of Navarre knew that he had reason to apprehend the most severe vengeance for the many crimes and treasons which he had already committed, and the still greater which he was meditating. To insure himself of protection, he entered into a secret correspondence with England by means of Henry, Earl of Derby, now Earl of Lancaster, who at that time was employed in fruitless negotiations for peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. John detected this correspondence; and, to prevent the danger-

³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 144.

ous effects of it, he sent forces into Normandy, the chief seat of the King of Navarre's power, and attacked his castles and fortresses. But hearing that Edward had prepared an army to support his ally, he had the weakness to propose an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this traitorous subject the sum of a hundred thousand crowns, as the purchase of a feigned reconciliation, which rendered him still more dangerous. The King of Navarre, insolent from past impunity, and desperate from the dangers which he apprehended, continued his intrigues; and associating himself with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from Philip de Valois, but persevered still in his factious disposition, he increased the number of his partisans in every part of the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles, the King of France's eldest son, a youth of seventeen years of age, who was the first that bore the appellation of Dauphin, by the reunion of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince, being made sensible of the danger and folly of these connections, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates; and, in concert with his father, he invited the King of Navarre and other noblemen of the party to a feast at Rouën, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution. The King of Navarre was thrown into prison;⁴ but this stroke of severity in the king, and of treachery in the dauphin, was far from proving decisive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence, and had immediate recourse to the protection of England in this desperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired, and Edward was entirely free to support the French malcontents. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partisans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to accomplish, he purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the Prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person.

Young Edward arrived in the Garronne with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred sail, attended by the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other English

⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 146. Avesbury, p. 243.

noblemen. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he took the field; and as the present disorders in France prevented every proper plan of defence, he carried on with impunity his ravages and devastations, according to the mode of war in that age. He reduced all the villages and several towns of Languedoc to ashes; he presented himself before Toulouse, passed the Garonne, and burned the suburbs of Carcassonne; advanced even to Narbonne, laying every place waste around him; and, after an excursion of six weeks, returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters.⁵ The Constable of Bourbon, who commanded in those provinces, received orders, though at the head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

The King of England's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France at the head of a numerous army, to which he gave a full license of plundering and ravaging the open country. He advanced to St. Omer, where the King of France was posted; and on the retreat of that prince, followed him to Hesdin.⁶ John still kept at a distance, and declined an engagement; but, in order to save his reputation, he sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him—a usual bravado in that age, derived from the practice of single combat, and ridiculous in the art of war. The king, finding no sincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the king's absence, and that of the military power of England, had surprised Berwick, and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces; but, on the approach of Edward, they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English; and, retiring to their mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh.⁷ Baliol attended Edward on this expedition; but finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining through age and infirmities, he finally resigned into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland,⁸ and received in lieu of them an

⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 144, 146.

⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 144. Avesbury, p. 206. Walsing. p. 171.

⁷ Walsing. p. 171.

⁸ Rymer, vol. v. p. 823. Ypod. Neust. p. 521.

annual pension of two thousand pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement.

During these military operations, Edward received information of the increasing disorders in France arising from the imprisonment of the King of Navarre; and he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partisans of that prince in Normandy. The war was conducted with various success, but chiefly to the disadvantage of the French malcontents, till an important event happened in the other quarter of the kingdom which had well-nigh proved fatal to the monarchy of France, and threw every thing into the utmost confusion.

[1356.] The Prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army which no historian makes amount to above twelve thousand men, and of which not a third were English; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limousin, he entered the province of Berry, and made some attacks, though without success, on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. It appeared that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the Earl of Lancaster and the partisans of the King of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne.⁹ He found this resolution the more necessary from the intelligence which he received of the King of France's motions. That monarch, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, and entertaining hopes of success from the young prince's temerity, collected a great army of above sixty thousand men, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days on his retreat before the castle of Remorantin,¹⁰ and thereby gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander.

But the utmost prudence and courage would have proved insufficient to save him, in this extremity, had the King of France known how to make use of his present advantages.

⁹ Walsing. p. 71.

¹⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 158. Walsing. p. 171.

His great superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the enemy, and, by intercepting all provisions, which were already become scarce in the English camp, to reduce this small army, without a blow, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But such was the impatient ardor of the French nobility, and so much had their thoughts been bent on overtaking the English as their sole object, that this idea never struck any of the commanders, and they immediately took measures for the assault as for a certain victory. While the French army was drawn up in order of battle, they were stopped by the appearance of the Cardinal of Perigord, who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened, by interposing his good offices, to prevent any farther effusion of Christian blood. By John's permission, he carried proposals to the Prince of Wales, and found him so sensible of the bad posture of his affairs that an accommodation seemed not impracticable. Edward told him that he would agree to any terms consistent with his own honor and that of England; and he offered to purchase a retreat by ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign, and by stipulating not to serve against France during the course of seven years. But John, imagining that he had now got into his hands a sufficient pledge for the restitution of Calais, required that Edward should surrender himself prisoner with a hundred of his attendants; and offered, on these terms, a safe retreat to the English army. The prince rejected the proposal with disdain, and declared that, whatever fortune might attend him, England should never be obliged to pay the price of his ransom. This resolute answer cut off all hopes of an accommodation; but as the day was already spent in negotiating, the battle was delayed till the next morning.¹¹

The Cardinal of Perigord, as did all the prelates of the court of Rome, bore a great attachment to the French interest; but the most determined enemy could not, by any expedient, have done a greater prejudice to John's affairs than he did them by this delay. The Prince of Wales had leisure during the night to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an ambush of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during

¹¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 161.

the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the rear by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The Lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced commanders were at the head of different corps of his army.

John also arranged his forces in three divisions, nearly equal : the first was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother ; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers ; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip, his fourth son and favorite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges ; and in order to open this passage, the Mareschals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each side with their arrows ; and being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the Prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown ; one of the mareschals was slain, the other taken prisoner ; and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and put everything into disorder.¹² In that critical moment the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge or for their own safety, carried them off the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed by that whole division. The Duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat which soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince that the day was won, and encouraged him to attack the division under King John, which, though more numerous than the whole English army,

¹² Froissart liv. i. chap. 162.

were somewhat dismayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valor what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The Prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the Counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Nosto; a fierce battle ensued; one side were encouraged by the near prospect of so great a victory; the other were stimulated by the shame of quitting the field to an enemy so much inferior; but the three German generals, together with the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him; the nobles fell by his side one after another: his son, scarce fourteen years of age, received a wound while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father; the king himself, spent with fatigue and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter: several who attempted to seize him suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, "Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank. But being told that the prince was at a distance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His son was taken with him.¹³

The Prince of Wales, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle, inquiring still, with great anxiety, concerning the fate of the French monarch. He despatched the Earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The English had taken him by violence from Morbec; the Gascons claimed the honor of detaining the royal prisoner; and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death.¹⁴ Warwick overawed both

¹³ Rymer, vol. vi. pp. 72, 154. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 164.

¹⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 164.

parties; and approaching the king with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroism of Edward; for victories are vulgar things in comparison of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young prince of twenty-seven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valor; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence.¹⁵ The behavior of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment; his present abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king; more touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honor was still unimpaired; and that if he yielded the victory, it it was at least gained by a prince of such consummate valor and humanity.

Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner; and he himself served at the royal captive's table as if he had been one of his retinue; he stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty to assume such freedom. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion; John in captivity received the honors of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne; his misfortunes, not his title, were respected; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind more than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration, which were only checked by the reflection that such genuine and unaltered heroism in an enemy must certainly in the issue prove but the more dangerous to their native country.¹⁶

[1357.] All the English and Gascon knights imitated the generous example set them by their prince. The captives were everywhere treated with humanity, and were soon after dismissed on paying moderate ransoms to the persons into whose hands they had fallen. The extent of their for-

¹⁵ Poul, *Cemil.* p. 197.

¹⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 168.

tunes was considered, and an attention was given that they should still have sufficient means left to perform their military service in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. Yet so numerous were the noble prisoners that these ransoms, added to the spoils gained in the field, were sufficient to enrich the prince's army ; and as they had suffered very little in the action, their joy and exultation were complete.

The Prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to Bourdeaux ; and, not being provided with forces so numerous as might enable him to push his present advantages, he concluded a two years' truce with France,¹⁷ which was also become requisite, that he might conduct the captive king with safety into England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the King of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesies as if he had been a neighboring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.¹⁸ It is impossible, in reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which resulted from the otherwise whimsical principles of chivalry, and which gave men, in those rude times, some superiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation.

The King of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy consolation of the wretched—to see companions in affliction. The King of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands ; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighboring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be prisoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart, his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling ; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.¹⁹

¹⁷ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 3.

¹⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 173.

¹⁹ Rymer, vol. vi. pp. 45, 46, 52, 56. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 174. Walsing. p. 173.

[1358.] Meanwhile, the captivity of John, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution, almost total, of civil authority, and had occasioned confusions the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but though endowed with an excellent capacity even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state assailed at once by foreign power and shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain a supply, he assembled the states of the kingdom; that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves seized with the spirit of confusion, and laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the King of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the merchants and first magistrate of Paris, put himself at the head of the unruly populace, and, from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the dauphin in a sort of captivity; they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, marshals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other ministers with a like fate; and when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and spread the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence; and being reproached with cowardice, on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poitiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, threw off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and associating to them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, formed numerous bands which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages, and, by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence,

reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery, and, rising everywhere in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers.²⁰ The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were everywhere exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous peasants. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy; their castles were consumed with fire and levelled to the ground. Their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered; the savages proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire; a body of nine thousand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, with above three hundred ladies, had taken shelter. The most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company; but the Captal de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet moved by generosity and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. In other civil wars, the opposite factions, falling under the government of their several leaders, commonly preserve still the vestige of some rule and order; but here the wild state of nature seemed to be renewed: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows; and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amid these disorders, the King of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents.²¹ But the splendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do mischief, and to increase the public distractions. He wanted the steadiness and prudence requisite for making his intrigues subservient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partisans into a regular faction. He revived his pretensions, somewhat obsolete, to the crown of France; but while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the English, who were concerned in interest to disappoint his pretensions, and who, being public and inveterate enemies to the state, served only, by the

²⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 182, 183, 184.

²¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 181.

friendship which they seemingly bore him, to render his cause the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged, by his station, to endeavor the re-establishment of order in the community.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French who wished to restore peace to their miserable and desolated country were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit that he daily gained the ascendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the King of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty.²² The most considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dispersed and put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate; and though many grievous disorders still remained, France began gradually to assume the face of a regular civil government, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

During the confusion in the dauphin's affairs, Edward seemed to have a favorable opportunity for pushing his conquests; but besides that his hands were tied by the truce, and he could only assist underhand the faction of Navarre, the state of the English finances and military power, during those ages, rendered the kingdom incapable of making any regular or steady effort, and obliged it to exert its force at very distant intervals, by which all the projected ends were commonly disappointed. Edward employed himself, during a conjuncture so inviting, chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace which, had they taken effect, must have totally ruined and dismembered his kingdom. He agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them forever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonorable and pernicious to the kingdom;²³ and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now by subsidies and frugality, collected some treasure, prepared himself for a new invasion of France.

The great authority and renown of the king and the Prince of Wales, the splendid success of their former enter-

²² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 187

²³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 201.

prises, and the certain prospect of plunder from the defenceless provinces of France, soon brought together the whole military power of England, and the same motives invited to Edward's standard all the hardy adventurers of the different countries of Europe.²⁴ He passed over to Calais, where he assembled an army of near a hundred thousand men, a force which the dauphin could not pretend to withstand in the open field; that prince, therefore, prepared himself to elude a blow which it was impossible for him to resist. He put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence; ordered them to be supplied with magazines and provisions; distributed proper garrisons in all places; secured everything valuable in the fortified cities; and chose his own station at Paris, with a view of allowing the enemy to vent their fury on the open country.

[1359.] The king, aware of this plan of defence, was obliged to carry along with him six thousand wagons loaded with the provisions necessary for the subsistence of his army. After ravaging the province of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne; and having a strong desire of being crowned King of France at Rheims, the usual place in which this ceremony is performed, he laid siege to that city, and carried on his attacks, though without success, for the space of seven weeks.²⁵ The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of the archbishop, John de Craon, till the advanced season (for this expedition was entered upon in the beginning of winter) obliged the king to raise the siege. [1360.] The province of Champagne meanwhile was desolated by his incursions, and he thence conducted his army, with a like intent, into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other small places; but the Duke of Burgundy, that he might preserve his country from farther ravages, consented to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand nobles.²⁶ Edward then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which saved itself by a like composition; he laid waste Brie and the Gatinois; and after a long march, very destructive to France and somewhat ruinous to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Longjumeau, Montrouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle by sending him a defiance, but could not make that

²⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 205. ²⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 208. Walsing, p. 174.

²⁶ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 161. Walsing. p. 174.

prudent prince change his plan of operations. Paris was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison; from that of a blockade, by its well-supplied magazines; and as Edward himself could not subsist his army in a country wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left also empty by the precaution of the dauphin, he was obliged to remove his quarters; and he spread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beausse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devastations.²⁷ The only repose which France experienced was during the festival of Easter, when the king stopped the course of his ravages. For superstition can sometimes restrain the rage of men, which neither justice nor humanity is able to control.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for peace were never interrupted; but as the king still insisted on the full execution of the treaty which he had made with his prisoner at London, and which was strenuously rejected by the dauphin, there appeared no likelihood of an accommodation. The earl, now Duke of Lancaster (for this title was introduced into England during the present reign), endeavored to soften the rigor of these terms, and to finish the war on more equal and reasonable conditions. He insisted with Edward that, notwithstanding his great and surprising successes, the object of the war, if such were to be esteemed the acquisition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it; or rather was set at a greater distance by those very victories and advantages which seemed to lead to it. That his claim of succession had not from the first procured him one partisan in the kingdom; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him. That though intestine faction had crept into the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greatest heat of the contest, when subjection under a foreign enemy usually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretensions of the King of England. That the King of Navarre himself, who alone was allied with the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partisans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous

²⁷ Walsing. p. 175.

to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament, without reaping any solid or durable advantage from it. That if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers; if it could establish a more steady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favor, and by its superior force and advantages be able to repel the present victors. That the dauphin, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence as to prevent the English from acquiring one foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostilities which, however hitherto successful, had been extremely expensive, and might prove very dangerous; and that Edward, having acquired so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honor to which he could now aspire—an honor so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the most real advantages.²⁸

These reasons induced Edward to accept of more moderate terms of peace; and it is probable that, in order to palliate this change of resolution, he ascribed it to a vow made during a dreadful tempest which attacked his army on their march, and which ancient historians represent as the cause of this sudden accommodation.²⁹ The conferences between the English and French commissioners were carried on during a few days at Bretigni, in the Chartraine, and the peace was at last concluded on the following conditions.³⁰ It was stipulated that King John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about one million five hundred thousand pounds of our present money,³¹ which was to be discharged at different payments; that Edward should forever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that the

²⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 211.

³⁰ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 178. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 212.

³¹ See note [C] at the end of the volume.

²⁹ Ibid.

full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them; that the King of Navarre should be restored to all his honors and possessions; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connections with the Scots; that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the families of Blois and Mountfort should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings, and if the competitors refused to submit to the award, the dispute should no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms; and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions.³²

In consequence of this treaty, the King of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward also soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey; and the two monarchs parted with many professions, probably cordial and sincere, of mutual amity.³³ The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the ascendant gained over him by his rival. There seldom has been a treaty of so great importance so faithfully executed by both parties. Edward had scarcely from the beginning entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France; by restoring John to his liberty, and making peace at a juncture so favorable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretensions of this nature; he had sold at a very high price that chimerical claim, and had at present no other interest than to retain those acquisitions which he had made with such singular prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were severe, possessed such fidelity and honor that he was determined, at all hazards, to execute them, and to use every expedient for satisfying a monarch who had indeed been his greatest political enemy, but had treated him personally with singular humanity and regard.

³² The hostages were the two sons of the French king, John and Lewis, his brother Philip, Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, James de Bourbon, Count de Ponthieu, the Counts d'Eu, de Longueville, de St. Pol, de Harcourt, de Vendome, de Couci, de Craon, de Montmorenci, and many of the chief nobility of France. The princes were mostly released, on the fulfilling of certain articles: others of the hostages, and the Duke of Berry among the rest, were permitted to return upon their parole, which they did not keep. Rymer, vol. vi. pp. 278, 285, 287.

³³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 213.

But, notwithstanding his endeavors, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpose, chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vassals in the neighborhood of Guienne expressed against submitting to the English dominion ;³⁴ and John, in order to adjust these differences, took a resolution of coming over himself to England. [1363.] His council endeavored to dissuade him from this rash design, and probably would have been pleased to see him employ more chicanes for eluding the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty ; but John replied to them that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes. Some historians would detract from the merit of this honorable conduct by representing John as enamored of an English lady, to whom he was glad, on this pretence, to pay a visit ; but besides that this surmise is not founded on any good authority, it appears somewhat unlikely on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-sixth year. [1364.] He was lodged in the Savoy, the palace where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after sickened and died. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great dominion of fortune over men than the calamities which pursued a monarch of such eminent valor, goodness, and honor, and which he incurred merely by reason of some slight imprudences which in other situations would have been of no importance. But though both his reign and that of his father proved extremely unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, very considerable accessions—those of Dauphiny and Burgundy. This latter province, however, John had the imprudence again to dismember by bestowing it on Philip, his fourth son, the object of his most tender affections³⁵—a deed which was afterwards the source of many calamities to the kingdom.

John was succeeded in the throne by Charles the Dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, which held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies ; and he was the first king in Europe that showed the

³⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 214.

³⁵ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 421.

advantage of policy, foresight, and judgment, above a rash and precipitate valor. The events of his reign, compared with those of the preceding, are a proof how little reason kingdoms have to value themselves on their victories or to be humbled by their defeats, which in reality ought to be ascribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and are of little moment towards determining national characters and manners.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He turned his arms against the King of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; he defeated this prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, one of the most accomplished characters of the age, whom he had the discernment to choose as the instrument of all his victories;³⁶ and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du Guesclin was less fortunate in the wars of Brittany, which still continued notwithstanding the mediation of France and England; he was defeated and taken prisoner at Auray by Chandos; Charles of Blois was there slain, and the young Count of Mountfort soon after got entire possession of that duchy.³⁷ But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow: he submitted to the decision of fortune; he acknowledged the title of Mountfort, though a zealous partisan of England, and received the proffered homage for his dominions. But the chief obstacle which the French king met with in the settlement of the state proceeded from obscure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent and their number dangerous.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces and possessed of strongholds, refused to lay down their arms or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence.³⁸ They associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and, under the names of the *companies* and *companions*, became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon

³⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 119, 120.

³⁷ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 227, 228, &c. Walsing. p. 180.

³⁸ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 214.

gentlemen of character, particularly Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir Hugh Calverly, the Chevalier Verte, and others, were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose numbers amounted, on the whole, to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers. These leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories, in one of which Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain;³⁹ and they proceeded to such a height that they wanted little but regular establishments to become princes, and thereby sanctify, by the maxims of the world, their infamous profession. The greater spoil they committed on the country, the more easy they found it to recruit their number. All those who were reduced to misery and despair flocked to their standard; the evil was every day increasing; and though the pope declared them excommunicated, these military plunderers, however deeply affected with the sentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any principles of morality, could not be induced by it to betake themselves to peaceable or lawful professions.

[1366.] As Charles was not able by power to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy, and to contrive some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil.

Peter, King of Castile, stigmatized by his contemporaries, and by posterity, with the epithet of *Cruel*, had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and having incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, he kept, from present terror alone, an anxious and precarious possession of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his severity; he put to death several of his natural brothers from groundless jealousy; each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occasion of fresh barbarities; and as he was not destitute of talents, his neighbors, no less than his own subjects, were alarmed at the progress of his violence and injustice. The ferocity of his temper, instead of being softened by his strong propensity to love, was rather inflamed by that passion, and took thence new occasion to exert itself. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the ascendant over him, he threw into prison Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, sister to the Queen of France, and

³⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 214, 215.

soon after made way, by poison, for the espousing of his mistress.

Henry, Count of Transtamare, his natural brother, seeing the fate of every one who had become obnoxious to this tyrant, took arms against him; but being foiled in the attempt, he sought for refuge in France, where he found the minds of men extremely inflamed against Peter on account of his murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the *companies* in his service and to lead them into Castile, where, from the concurrence of his own friends and the enemies of his brother, he had the prospect of certain and immediate success. The French king, charmed with the project, employed Du Guesclin in negotiating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded. The high character of honor which that general possessed made every one trust to his promises. Though the intended expedition was kept a secret, the companies implicitly enlisted under his standard; and they required no other condition before their engagement than an assurance that they were not to be led against the Prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was so little averse to the enterprise that he allowed some gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the service under Du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was readily promised him; some more difficulty was made with regard to the second. "I believe that my fellows," replied Du Guesclin, "may make a shift to do without your absolution; but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighborhood the sum of a hundred thousand livres, and offered it to Du Guesclin. "It is not my purpose," cried that generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners; and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid him from his treasury the sum demanded.⁴⁰ The army, hallowed by the blessings and en-

⁴⁰ Hist. du Guesclin.

riched by the spoils of the Church, proceeded on their expedition.

These experienced and hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the King of Castile, whose subjects, instead of supporting their oppressor, were ready to join the enemy against him.⁴¹ Peter fled from his dominions, took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the Prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine.⁴² The prince seemed now to have entirely changed his sentiments with regard to the Spanish transactions; whether that he was moved by the generosity of supporting a distressed prince, and thought, as is but too usual among sovereigns, that the rights of the people were a matter of much less consideration, or dreaded the acquisition of so powerful a confederate to France as the new King of Castile, or, what is most probable, was impatient of rest and ease, and sought only an opportunity for exerting his military talents, by which he had already acquired so much renown. [1367.] He promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch; and, having obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army, and set out upon his enterprise. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created Duke of Lancaster in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter he had espoused. Chandos also, who bore among the English the same character which Du Guesclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The first blow which the Prince of Wales gave to Henry of Transtamare was the recalling of all the *companies* from his service; and so much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the King of Arragon and others of his neighbors, was able to meet the enemy with an army of a hundred thousand men—forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin and all his experienced officers advised him to delay any decisive action, to cut off the Prince of Wales's provisions, and to avoid

⁴¹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 230.

⁴² Rymer, vol. vi. p. 384. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 231.

every engagement with a general whose enterprises had hitherto been always conducted with prudence and crowned with success. Henry trusted too much to his numbers, and ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara.⁴³ Historians of that age are commonly very copious in describing the shock of armies in battle, the valor of the combatants, the slaughter and various successes of the day; but though small rencounters in those times were often well disputed, military discipline was always too imperfect to preserve order in great armies, and such actions deserve more the name of routs than of battles. Henry was chased off the field, with the loss of above twenty thousand men; there perished only four knights and forty private men on the side of the English.

Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood, but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the Prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But he had soon reason to repent his connections with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honor. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, finding his soldiers daily perish by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any satisfaction on this head, to return into Guienne.⁴⁴

The barbarities exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him; and on the return of Henry of Transtamare, together with Du Guesclin, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and was taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, murdered him with his own hand, and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The Duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new King of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of Prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition

⁴³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 211.

⁴⁴ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 242, 243. Walsing. p. 182.

ended not with it. [1368.] He had involved himself so much in debt, by his preparations and the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his principality a new tax, to which some of the nobility consented with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit.⁴⁵ This incident revived the animosity which the inhabitants bore to the English, and which all the amiable qualities of the Prince of Wales were not able to mitigate or assuage. They complained that they were considered as a conquered people, that their privileges were disregarded, that all trust was given to the English alone, that every office of honor and profit was conferred on these foreigners, and that the extreme reluctance which most of them had expressed to receive the new yoke was likely to be long remembered against them. They cast, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient sovereign, whose prudence, they found, had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the Counts of Armagnac, Commigne, and Perigord, the Lord d'Albert, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.⁴⁶

In the treaty of Bretigni it had been stipulated that the two kings should make renunciations: Edward, of his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John, of the homage and fealty due for Guienne and the other provinces ceded to the English. But when that treaty was confirmed and renewed at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations should for some time be deferred; and it was agreed that the parties meanwhile should make no use of their respective claims against each other.⁴⁷ Though the failure in exchanging these renunciations had still proceeded from France,⁴⁸ Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it, both because this clause seemed to give him entire security,

⁴⁵ This tax was a livre upon a hearth; and it was imagined that the imposition would have yielded one million two hundred thousand livres a year, which supposes so many hearths in the provinces possessed by the English. But such loose conjectures have commonly no manner of authority, much less in such ignorant times. There is a strong instance of it in the present reign. The House of Commons granted the king a tax of twenty-two shillings on each parish, supposing that the amount of the whole would be fifty thousand pounds. But they were found to be in a mistake of near five to one. Cotton, p. 3. And the council assumed the power of augmenting the tax upon each parish.

⁴⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 244.

⁴⁷ Rymer, vol. vi. pp. 219, 230, 231, 237, 243.

⁴⁸ Rot. Franc. 35 Edward III. m. 3, from Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 643.

and because some reasonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles resolved to ground his claim of still considering himself as superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his sub-vassals.⁴⁹

[1369.] But as views of policy, more than those of justice, enter into the deliberations of princes, and as the mortal injuries received from the English, the pride of their triumphs, the severe terms imposed by the treaty of peace, seemed to render every prudent means of revenge honorable against them, Charles was determined to take this measure, less by the reasonings of his civilians and lawyers than by the present situation of the two monarchies. He considered the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the Prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all these provinces bore to their ancient master, their distance from England, their vicinity to France, the extreme animosity expressed by his own subjects against these invaders, and their ardent thirst of vengeance; and having silently made all the necessary preparations, he sent to the Prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men.⁵⁰ The unwarlike character of Charles kept Prince Edward even yet from thinking that that monarch was in earnest in this bold and hazardous attempt.

[1370.] It soon appeared what a poor return the king had received by his distant conquests for all the blood and treasure expended in the quarrel, and how impossible it was to retain acquisitions in an age when no regular force could be maintained sufficient to defend them against the revolt of the inhabitants, especially if that danger was joined with the invasion of a foreign enemy. Charles first fell upon Ponthieu, which gave the English an inlet into the heart of France; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him; ⁵¹ those of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy imitated the example, and the whole country was, in a little time, reduced to submission. The Dukes of Berri and Anjou, brothers to Charles, being assisted by Du Guesclin, who was recalled from Spain, invaded the southern provinces,

⁴⁹ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 245.

⁵¹ Walsing. p. 183.

⁵⁰ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 247, 248.

and by means of their good conduct, the favorable dispositions of the people, and the ardor of the French nobility, they made every day considerable progress against the English. The state of the Prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horseback or exert his usual activity; Chandos, the Constable of Guienne, was slain in one action;⁵² the Captal de Buche, who succeeded him in that office, was taken prisoner in another;⁵³ and when young Edward himself was obliged, by his increasing infirmities, to throw up the command and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France seemed to be menaced with total ruin.

The king, incensed at these injuries, threatened to put to death all the French hostages who remained in his hands, but, on reflection, abstained from that ungenerous revenge. After resuming, by advice of Parliament, the vain title of King of France,⁵⁴ he endeavored to send succors into Gascony; but all his attempts, both by sea and land, proved unsuccessful. The Earl of Pembroke was intercepted at sea, and taken prisoner with his whole army near Rochelle, by a fleet which the King of Castile had fitted out for that purpose;⁵⁵ Edward himself embarked for Bourdeaux with another army, but was so long detained by contrary winds that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprise.⁵⁶ Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement; he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste; but part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of Du Guesclin, who was now created Constable of France, and who seems to have been the first consummate general that had yet appeared in Europe, the rest were scattered and dispersed, and the small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Brittany, whose sovereign had embraced the alliance of England.⁵⁷ The Duke of Lancaster, some time after, made a like attempt with an army of twenty-five thousand men, and marched the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux, but was so much harassed by the flying parties which attended him that he

⁵² Froissart, liv. i. chap. 277. Walsing. p. 185. ⁵³ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 310.

⁵⁴ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 621. Cotton's Abridg. p. 108.

⁵⁵ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 302, 303, 304. Walsing. p. 186.

⁵⁶ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 311. Walsing. p. 187.

⁵⁷ Froissart, liv. i. chap. 291.

brought not the half of his army to the place of their destination. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was at last obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy,⁵⁸ after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests except Calais.

The decline of the king's life was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and noisy scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. Besides seeing the loss of his foreign dominions, and being baffled in every attempt to defend them, he felt the decay of his authority at home, and experienced from the sharpness of some parliamentary remonstrances, the great inconstancy of the people, and the influence of present fortune over all their judgments.⁵⁹ This prince, who, during the vigor of his age, had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, began, at an unseasonable period, to indulge himself in pleasure; and being now a widower, he attached himself to a lady of sense and spirit, one Alice Pierce, who acquired a great ascendant over him, and, by her influence, gave such general disgust that, in order to satisfy the Parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court.⁶⁰ The indolence, also, naturally attending old age and infirmities had made him, in a great measure, resign the administration into the hands of his son, the Duke of Lancaster, who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the English bore to the person and government of the king. Men carried their jealousies very far against the duke; and as they saw with much regret the death of the Prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaster, and by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, in order to satisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared in Parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown, and thereby cut off all the hopes of the Duke of Lancaster, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

[1376.] The Prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died in the forty-sixth year of his age, and left a character illustrious for every eminent virtue and, from his earliest youth till the hour he expired, unstained by any blemish.

⁵⁸ Froissart. liv. i. chap. 311. Walsing. p. 187.

⁵⁹ Walsing. p. 189. Ypod. Neust. p. 530.

⁶⁰ Walsing. p. 189.

His valor and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit. His generosity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowise infected him with its vices, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king survived about a year this melancholy incident; England was deprived at once of both these princes, its chief ornament and support; he expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign; and the people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained. [1377.]

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III., and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious, also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigor of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it; his affable and obliging behavior, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valor and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice nor directed to any salutary purpose. His attempt against the King of Scotland, a minor and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom were both unreasonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himself to be too easily seduced, by the glaring prospect of French conquests, from the acquisition of a point which was practicable, and

which, if attained, might really have been of lasting utility to his country and his successors. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected, and yet from the very nature of things, not from any unforeseen accidents, was found, even during his lifetime, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince; and indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen that a sovereign of genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn himself towards military enterprises, where alone he meets with opposition, and where he has full exercise for his industry and capacity.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the color of his armor. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Kent*, daughter and heir of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the Prince of Wales she had a son, Richard, who alone survived his father.

The second son of King Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the Earl of Ulster, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Lionel espoused, in second marriage, Violante, the daughter of the Duke of Milan,⁶¹ and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth; he was created Duke of Lancaster, and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created Earl of Cambridge by his father, and Duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of Earl of Buckingham from his father, and

⁶¹ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 564.

that of Duke of Gloucester from his nephew. In order to prevent confusion, we shall always distinguish these two princes by the title of York and Gloucester, even before they were advanced to them.

There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa; to wit, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who espoused, in the order of their names, Ingelram de Courcy, Earl of Bedford, Alphonso, King of Castile, John of Mountfort, Duke of Brittany, and John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. The Princess Joan died at Bourdeaux before the consummation of her marriage.

It is remarked by an elegant historian⁶² that conquerors, though usually the bane of humankind, proved often, in those feudal times, the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies from their people; and not being able to compel them by force to submit to the necessary impositions, they were obliged to make them some compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. This remark is in some measure, though imperfectly, justified by the conduct of Edward III. He took no steps of moment without consulting his Parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures.⁶³ The Parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time; and even the House of Commons, which during turbulent and factious periods was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of some weight in the constitution. In the later years of Edward, the King's ministers were impeached in Parliament, particularly Lord Latimer, who fell a sacrifice to the authority of the Commons;⁶⁴ and they even obliged the king to banish his mistress by their remonstrances. Some attention was also paid to the election of their members; and lawyers in particular, who were at that time men of character somewhat inferior, were totally excluded the House during several Parliaments.⁶⁵

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth of this reign,⁶⁶ and which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads—conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adher-

⁶² Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, b. 1.

⁶³ Cotton's Abridg. pp. 108, 120.

⁶⁴ Cotton's Abridg. p. 122.

⁶⁵ Cotton's Abridg. p. 18.

⁶⁶ Chap. 2.

ing to his enemies ; and the judges were prohibited, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without an application to Parliament. The bounds of treason were indeed so much limited by this statute, which still remains in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, and explain a conspiracy for levying war against the king to be equivalent to a conspiracy against his life ; and this interpretation, seemingly forced, has, from the necessity of the case, been tacitly acquiesced in. It was also ordained that a Parliament should be held once a year, or oftener if need be—a law which, like many others, was never observed, and lost its authority by disuse.⁶⁷

Edward granted about twenty parliamentary confirmations of the great charter ; and these concessions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties. But the contrary presumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been in general somewhat arbitrary, and if the great charter had not been frequently violated, the Parliament would never have applied for these frequent confirmations, which could add no force to a deed regularly observed, and which could serve to no other purpose than to prevent the contrary precedents from turning into a rule, and acquiring authority. It was indeed the effect of the irregular government during those ages that a statute which had been enacted some years, instead of acquiring, was imagined to lose force by time, and needed to be often renewed by recent statutes of the same sense and tenor. Hence, likewise, that general clause so frequent in old acts of Parliament, that the statutes enacted by the king's progenitors should be observed⁶⁸—a precaution which, if we do not consider the circumstances of the times, might appear absurd and ridiculous. The frequent confirmations, in general terms, of the privileges of the church proceeded from the same cause.

It is a clause in one of Edward's statutes, that no man, of what estate or condition soever, shall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due process of the law."⁶⁹ This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause of the great charter, which has received a

⁶⁷ 4 Edward III. cap. 14.

⁶⁸ 36 Edw. III. cap. 1. 37 Edw. III. cap. 1, &c.

⁶⁹ 28 Edw. III. cap. 3.

general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why, then, is the clause so anxiously, and as we may think so superfluously, repeated? Plainly, because there had been some late infringements of it which gave umbrage to the Commons.⁷⁰

But there is no article in which the laws are more frequently repeated during this reign, almost in the same terms, than that of purveyance, which the Parliament always calls an *outrageous* and *intolerable* grievance, and the source of *infinite* damage to the people.⁷¹ The Parliament tried to abolish this prerogative altogether, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without the consent of the owners,⁷² and by changing the *heinous name* of *purveyors*, as they term it, into that of *buyers*;⁷³ but the arbitrary conduct of Edward still brought back the grievance upon them, though contrary both to the great charter and to many statutes. This disorder was in a great measure derived from the state of the public finances and of the kingdom, and could therefore the less admit of remedy. The prince frequently wanted ready money, yet his family must be subsisted. He was therefore obliged to employ force and violence for that purpose, and to give tallies, at what rate he pleased, to the owners of the goods which he laid hold of. The kingdom also abounded so little in commodities, and the interior communication was so imperfect, that, had the owners been strictly protected by law, they could easily have exacted any price from the king, especially in his frequent progresses, when he came to distant and poor places, where the court did not usually reside, and where a regular plan for supplying it could not be easily established. Not only the king, but several great lords, insisted upon this right of purveyance.⁷⁴

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III., and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.⁷⁵

They mistake, indeed, very much the genius of this reign who imagine that it was not extremely arbitrary. All the high prerogatives of the crown were to the full exerted in

⁷⁰ They assert, in the 15th of this reign, that there had been such instances. Cotton's Abridg. p. 31. They repeat the same in the 21st year. See p. 59.

⁷¹ 36 Edw. III. &c.

⁷² 14 Edw. III. cap. 19.

⁷³ 36 Edw. III. cap. 2.

⁷⁴ 7 Richard II. cap. 8.

⁷⁵ Ashmole's Hist. of the Garter, p. 129.

it. But what gave some consolation, and promised in time some relief to the people, they were always complained of by the Commons: such as the dispensing power;⁷⁶ the extension of the forests;⁷⁷ erecting monopolies;⁷⁸ exacting loans;⁷⁹ stopping justice by particular warrants;⁸⁰ the renewal of the commission of *trailbaston*;⁸¹ pressing men and ships into the public service;⁸² levying arbitrary and exorbitant fines;⁸³ extending the authority of the privy council or star chamber to the decision of private causes;⁸⁴ enlarging the power of the mareschal's and other arbitrary courts;⁸⁵ imprisoning members for freedom of speech in Parliament;⁸⁶ obliging people, without any rule, to send recruits of men at arms, archers, and hoblors to the army.⁸⁷

But there was no act of arbitrary power more frequently repeated in this reign than that of imposing taxes without consent of Parliament. Though that assembly granted the king greater supplies than had ever been obtained by any of his predecessors, his great undertakings, and the necessity of his affairs, obliged him to levy still more; and after his splendid success against France had added weight to his authority, these arbitrary impositions became almost annual and perpetual. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records affords numerous instances of this kind in the first⁸⁸ year of his reign, in the thirteenth year,⁸⁹ in the fourteenth,⁹⁰ in the twentieth,⁹¹ in the twenty-first,⁹² in the twenty-second,⁹³ in the twenty-fifth,⁹⁴ in the thirty-eighth,⁹⁵ in the fiftieth,⁹⁶ and in the fifty-first.⁹⁷

The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. At one time he replied to the remonstrance made by the Commons against it, that the impositions had been exacted from great necessity, and had been assented to by the prelates, earls, barons, and *some* of the Commons;⁹⁸ at another, that he would advise with his council.⁹⁹ When the Parliament desired that a law might

⁷⁶ Cotton's Abridg. p. 148.

⁷⁷ Cotton, p. 71.

⁷⁸ Cotton's Abridg. pp. 56, 61, 122.

⁷⁹ Rymer, vol. v. pp. 491, 574. Cotton's Abridg. p. 56.

⁸⁰ Cotton, p. 114.

⁸¹ Cotton, p. 67.

⁸² Cotton's Abridg. pp. 47, 79, 113.

⁸³ Cotton's Abridg. p. 32.

⁸⁴ Cotton's Abridg. p. 74.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Walsing. pp. 189, 190.

⁸⁷ Tyrrel's Hist. vol. viii. p. 554, from the Records.

⁸⁸ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 363.

⁸⁹ Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18.

⁹⁰ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 39.

⁹¹ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 47.

⁹² Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 52, 53, 57, 58.

⁹³ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 69.

⁹⁴ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 76.

⁹⁵ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 101.

⁹⁶ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 138.

⁹⁷ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 152.

⁹⁸ Cotton, p. 53. He repeats the same answer in p. 60. *Some of the Commons* were such as he should be pleased to consult with.

⁹⁹ Cotton, p. 57.

be enacted for the punishment of such as levied these arbitrary impositions, he refused compliance.¹⁰⁰ In the subsequent year they desired that the king might renounce this pretended prerogative; but his answer was, that he would levy no taxes without necessity, for the defence of the realm, and where he reasonably might use that authority.¹⁰¹ This incident passed a few days before his death; and these were, in a manner, his last words to his people. It would seem that the famous charter or statute of Edward I. *de tallagio non concedendo*, though never repealed, was supposed to have already lost, by age, all its authority.

These facts can only show the *practice* of the times, for as to the *right*, the continual remonstrances of the Commons may seem to prove that it rather lay on their side; at least these remonstrances served to prevent the arbitrary practices of the court from becoming an established part of the constitution. In so much a better condition were the privileges of the people, even during the arbitrary reign of Edward III., than during some subsequent ones, particularly those of the Tudors, where no tyranny or abuse of power ever met with any check or opposition, or so much as a remonstrance, from Parliament.

In this reign we find, according to the sentiments of an ingenious and learned author, the first strongly marked, and probably contested, distinction between a proclamation by the king and his privy council, and a law which had received the assent of the Lords and Commons.¹⁰²

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during some years of his minority,¹⁰³ he afterwards withheld it; and when the pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his Parliament. That assembly unanimously declared that King John could not, without a national consent, subject his kingdom to a foreign power, and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension.¹⁰⁴

During this reign the statute of provisors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope.¹⁰⁵ By a subsequent statute, every person was

¹⁰⁰ Cotton, p. 138.

¹⁰² Observations on the Statutes, p. 193.

¹⁰⁴ Cotton's Abridg. p. 110.

¹⁰¹ Cotton, p. 213.

¹⁰³ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 434.

¹⁰⁵ 25 Edw. III. 27 Edw. III.

outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.¹⁰⁶

The laity, at this time, seem to have been extremely prejudiced against the papal power, and even somewhat against their own clergy, because of their connections with the Roman pontiff. The Parliament pretended that the usurpations of the pope were the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm, were more destructive to it than all the wars, and were the reason why it contained not a third of the inhabitants and commodities which it formerly possessed; that the taxes levied by him exceeded five times those which were paid to the king; that every thing was venal in that sinful city of Rome; and that even the patrons in England had thence learned to practise simony without shame or remorse.¹⁰⁷ At another time they petition the king to employ no churchman in any office of state;¹⁰⁸ and they even speak in plain terms of expelling by force the papal authority, and thereby providing a remedy against oppressions, which they neither could nor would any longer endure.¹⁰⁹ Men who talked in this strain were not far from the reformation; but Edward did not think proper to second all this zeal. Though he passed the statute of provisors, he took little care of its execution, and the Parliament made frequent complaints of his negligence on this head.¹¹⁰ He was content with having reduced such of the Romish ecclesiastics as possessed revenues in England to depend entirely upon him by means of that statute.

As to the police of the kingdom during this period, it was certainly better than during times of faction, civil war, and disorder, to which England was so often exposed; yet were there several vices in the constitution, the bad consequences of which all the power and vigilance of the king could not prevent. The barons, by their confederacies with those of their own order, and by supporting and defending their retainers in every iniquity,¹¹¹ were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and no law could be executed against those criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promise in Parliament that they would not avow, retain, or support any felon or breaker of the law.¹¹² yet this engagement, which we may wonder

¹⁰⁶ 27 Edw. III. 36 Edw. III.

¹⁰⁸ Cotton, p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ Cotton, pp. 119, 128, 129, 130, 148.

¹¹¹ 11 Edw. III. cap. 14. 4 Edw. III. cap. 2. 15 Edw. III. cap. 4.

¹¹² Cotton, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Cotton, pp. 74, 12, 129.

¹⁰⁹ Cotton, p. 41.

to see exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The Commons made continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other disorders, which, they say, were become numberless in every part of the kingdom, and which they always ascribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great.¹¹³ The King of Cyprus, who paid a visit to England in this reign, was robbed and stripped on the highway, with his whole retinue.¹¹⁴ Edward himself contributed to this dissolution of law by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the solicitation of the courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this prerogative,¹¹⁵ and remonstrances of the Commons were presented against the abuse of it,¹¹⁶ but to no purpose. The gratifying of a powerful nobleman continued still to be of more importance than the protection of the people. The king also granted many franchises, which interrupted the course of justice and the execution of the laws.¹¹⁷

Commerce and industry were certainly at a very low ebb during this period. The bad police of the country alone affords a sufficient reason. The only exports were wool, skins, hides, leather, butter, tin, lead, and such unmanufactured goods, of which wool was by far the most considerable. Knyghton has asserted that one hundred thousand sacks of wool were annually exported, and sold at twenty pounds a sack, money of that age. But he is widely mistaken, both in the quantity exported and in the value. In 1349 the Parliament remonstrated that the king, by an illegal imposition of forty shillings on each sack exported, had levied sixty thousand pounds a year,¹¹⁸ which reduces the annual exports to thirty thousand sacks. A sack contained twenty-six stone, and each stone fourteen pounds,¹¹⁹ and at a medium was not valued at above five pounds a sack¹²⁰—that is, fourteen or fifteen pounds of our present money. Knyghton's computation raises it to sixty pounds, which is near four times the present price of wool in England. According to this reduced computation, the export of wool brought into the kingdom about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money, instead of six millions, which is an extravagant sum. Even the former sum is so high as to afford a suspicion of some mistake in the computation of the Parliament with regard to the number

¹¹³ Cotton, pp. 44, 62, 64, 70, 160.

¹¹⁴ Walsing. p. 170.

¹¹⁶ Cotton, p. 75.

¹¹⁸ Cotton, pp. 48, 69.

¹¹⁵ 10 Edw. III. cap. 2. 27 Edw. III. cap. 2.

¹¹⁷ Cotton, p. 54.

¹¹⁹ 34 Edward III. cap. 5.

¹²⁰ Cotton, p. 29.

of sacks exported. Such mistakes were very usual in those ages.

Edward endeavored to introduce and promote the woollen manufacture by giving protection and encouragement to foreign weavers,¹²¹ and by enacting a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of English fabric.¹²² The Parliament prohibited the exportation for woollen goods; which was not so well judged, especially while the exportation of unwrought wool was so much allowed and encouraged. A like injudicious law was made against the exportation of manufactured iron.¹²³

It appears from a record in the exchequer that in 1354 the exports of England amounted to two hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds, seventeen shillings and twopence; the imports, to thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds, three shillings and sixpence, money of that time. This is a great balance, considering that it arose wholly from the exportation of raw wool and other rough materials. The import was chiefly linen and fine cloth, and some wine. England seems to have been extremely drained at this time by Edward's foreign expeditions and foreign subsidies, which probably was the reason why the exports so much exceed the imports.

The first toll we read of in England for mending the highways was imposed in this reign; it was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple-bar.¹²⁴

In the first of Richard II. the Parliament complain extremely of the decay of shipping during the preceding reign, and assert that one seaport formerly contained more vessels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they ascribe to the arbitrary seizure of ships by Edward for the service of his frequent expeditions.¹²⁵ The Parliament in the fifth of Richard renew the same complaint,¹²⁶ and we likewise find it made in the forty-sixth of Edward III. So false is the common opinion that this reign was favorable to commerce.

There is an order of this king, directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to take up all ships of forty tons and upwards, to be converted into ships of war.¹²⁷

The Parliament attempted the impracticable scheme of

¹²¹ 11 Edward III. cap. 5. Rymer, vol. iv. p. 723.

¹²² 11 Edward III. cap. 2.

¹²⁴ Rymer, vol. v. p. 520.

¹²⁶ Cap. 3.

Murimuth, p. 88.

¹²³ 28 Edward III. cap. 5.

¹²⁵ Cotton, pp. 155, 164.

¹²⁷ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 664.

reducing the price of labor after the pestilence, and also that of poultry.¹²⁸ A reaper in the first week of August was not allowed above twopence a day, or near sixpence of our present money; in the second week, a third more. A master carpenter was limited through the whole year to threepence a day, a common carpenter to twopence, money of that age.¹²⁹ It is remarkable that, in the same reign, the pay of a common soldier, an archer, was sixpence a day; which, by the change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to near five shillings of our present money.¹³⁰ Soldiers were then enlisted only for a very short time; they lived idle all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives; one successful campaign, by pay and plunder and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man, which was a great allurement to enter into the service.¹³¹

The staple of wool, wool-fells, leather, and lead was fixed by act of Parliament in particular towns of England.¹³² Afterwards it was removed by law to Calais; but Edward, who commonly deemed his prerogative above law, paid little regard to these statutes; and when the Parliament remonstrated with him on account of those acts of power, he plainly told them that he would proceed in that matter as he thought proper.¹³³ It is not easy to assign the reason of this great anxiety for fixing a staple, unless, perhaps, it invited foreigners to a market, when they knew beforehand that they should there meet with great choice of any particular species of commodity. This policy of inviting foreigners to Calais was carried so far that all English merchants were prohibited by law from exporting any English goods from the staple, which was in a manner the total abandoning of all foreign navigation except that to Calais¹³⁴—a contrivance seemingly extraordinary.

It was not till the middle of this century that the Eng-

¹²⁸ 37 Edward III. cap. 3.

¹²⁹ 25 Edward III. c. 3.

¹³⁰ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 784. Brady's Hist. vol. ii. App. No. 52. The pay of a man-at-arms was quadruple. We may therefore conclude that the numerous armies mentioned by historians in those times consisted chiefly of ragamuffins, who followed the camp and lived by plunder. Edward's army before Calais consisted of thirty-one thousand and ninety-four men; yet its pay for sixteen months was only one hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and one pounds. Brady, *Ibid*.

¹³¹ Commodities seem to have risen since the Conquest. Instead of being ten times cheaper than at present, they were, in the age of Edward III., only three or four times. This change seems to have taken place in a great measure since Edward I. The allowance granted by Edward III. to the Earl of Murray, then a prisoner in Nottingham castle, is one pound a week; whereas, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the primate of Scotland, had only sixpence a day allowed him by Edward I.

¹³² 27 Edward III.

¹³³ Cotton, p. 117.

¹³⁴ Edward III. cap. 7.

lish began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic;¹³⁵ nor till the middle of the subsequent that they sailed to the Mediterranean.¹³⁶

Luxury was complained of in that age, as well as in others of more refinement; and attempts were made by Parliament to restrain it, particularly on the head of apparel, where surely it is the most obviously innocent and inoffensive. No man under a hundred a year was allowed to wear gold, silver, or silk in his clothes; servants also were prohibited from eating flesh-meat or fish above once a day.¹³⁷ By another law it was ordained that no one should be allowed, either for dinner or supper, above three dishes in each course, and not above two courses; and it is likewise expressly declared that *soused* meat is to count as one of these dishes.¹³⁸ It was easy to foresee that such ridiculous laws must prove ineffectual, and could never be executed.

The use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds was abolished.¹³⁹ It may appear strange that the nation should so long have worn this badge of conquest; but the king and nobility seem never to have become thoroughly English, or to have forgotten their French extraction, till Edward's wars with France gave them an antipathy to that nation. Yet still it was long before the use of the English tongue came into fashion. The first English paper which we meet with in Rymer is in the year 1386, during the reign of Richard II.¹⁴⁰ There are Spanish papers in that collection of more ancient date,¹⁴¹ and the use of the Latin and French still continued.

We may judge of the ignorance of this age in geography from a story told by Robert of Aylesbury. Pope Clement VI. having, in 1344, created Lewis of Spain prince of *the fortunate islands*, meaning the Canaries, then newly discovered, the English ambassador at Rome and his retinue were seized with an alarm that Lewis had been created King of England; and they immediately hurried home in order to convey this important intelligence. Yet such was the ardor for study at this time that Speed, in his Chronicle, informs us there were then thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford alone. What was the occupation of all these young men? To learn very bad Latin and still worse logic.

¹³⁵ Anderson, vol. i. p. 151.

¹³⁶ Anderson, p. 177.

¹³⁷ 37 Edward III. cap. 8, 9, 10, etc.

¹³⁸ 10 Edward III.

¹³⁹ 36 Edward III. cap. 15.

¹⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 526. This paper, by the style, seems to have been drawn by the Scots, and was signed by the wardens of the marches only.

¹⁴¹ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 554.

In 1364 the Commons petitioned that, in consideration of the preceding pestilence, such persons as possessed manors holding of the king in chief, and had let different leases without obtaining licenses, might continue to exercise the same power till the country were become more populous.¹⁴² The Commons were sensible that this security of possession was a good means for rendering the kingdom prosperous and flourishing, yet durst not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains.

There is not a reign among those of the ancient English monarchs which deserves more to be studied than that of Edward III., nor one where the domestic transactions will better discover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then established in England. The struggles with regard to the validity and authority of the great charter were now over; the king was acknowledged to lie under some limitations; Edward himself was a prince of great capacity, not governed by favorites, not led astray by any unruly passion, sensible that nothing could be more essential to his interest than to keep on good terms with his people; yet, on the whole, it appears that the government at best was only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, or bounded by any certain undisputed rights which in practice were regularly observed. The king conducted himself by one set of principles, the barons by another, the Commons by a third, the clergy by a fourth. All these systems of government were opposite and incompatible; each of them prevailed in its turn, as incidents were favorable to it: a great prince rendered the monarchical power predominant; the weakness of a king gave reins to the aristocracy; a superstitious age saw the clergy triumphant; the people, for whom chiefly government was instituted, and who chiefly deserve consideration, were the weakest of the whole. But the Commons, little obnoxious to any other order, though they sunk under the violence of tempests, silently reared their head in more peaceable times; and while the storm was brewing were courted by all sides, and thus received still some accession to their privileges, or, at worst, some confirmation of them.

It has been an established opinion that gold coin was not struck till this reign; but there has lately been found proof that it is as ancient as Henry III.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Cotton, p. 97.

¹⁴³ See Observations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 375, 2d edit.

CHAPTER XVII.

RICHARD II.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY.—INSURRECTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.—DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS.—CIVIL COMMOTIONS.—EXPULSION OR EXECUTION OF THE KING'S MINISTERS.—CABALS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—BANISHMENT OF HENRY, DUKE OF HEREFORD.—RETURN OF HENRY.—GENERAL INSURRECTION.—DEPOSITION OF THE KING.—HIS MURDER.—HIS CHARACTER.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

THE Parliament which was summoned soon after the king's accession was both elected and assembled in tranquillity; and the great change from a sovereign of consummate wisdom and experience to a boy of eleven years of age was not immediately felt by the people. The habits of order and obedience which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward still influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress, for a time, the turbulent spirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was so often subject. The dangerous ambition, too, of these princes themselves was checked by the plain and undeniable title of Richard, by the declaration of it made in Parliament, and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young sovereign upon the throne. The different characters, also, of these three princes rendered them a counterpoise to each other; and it was natural to expect that any dangerous designs which might be formed by one brother would meet with opposition from the others. Lancaster, whose age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the ascendant among them, though his integrity seemed not proof against great temptations, was neither of an enterprising spirit nor of a popular and engaging temper. York was indolent, inactive, and of slender capacity. Gloucester was

turbulent, bold, and popular, but, being the youngest of the family, was restrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumstance in the domestic situation of England which might endanger the public peace or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

But as Edward, though he had fixed the succession to the crown, had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behoved the Parliament to supply this defect, and the House of Commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead on the occasion. This House, which had been rising to consideration during the whole course of the late reign, naturally received an accession of power during the minority, and as it was now becoming a scene of business, the members chose, for the first time, a speaker who might preserve order in their debates and maintain those forms which are requisite in all numerous assemblies. Peter de la Mare was the man pitched on—the same person that had been imprisoned and detained in custody by the late king for his freedom of speech in attacking the mistress and the ministers of that prince. But though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the Commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on these ministers and on Alice Pierce,¹ they were still too sensible of their great inferiority, to assume at first any immediate share in the administration of government or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply, by petition, to the Lords for that purpose, and desire them both to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public business, and to choose men of virtuous life and conversation, who might inspect the conduct and education of the young prince. The Lords complied with the first part of this request, and elected the Bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the Earls of March and Stafford, Sir Richard de Stafford, Sir Henry le Scrope, Sir John Devereux, and Sir Hugh Segrave, to whom they gave authority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary course of business.² But as to the regulation of the king's household, they declined interposing in an office which, they said, both was invidious in itself and might prove disagreeable to his majesty.

The Commons, as they acquired more courage, ventured to proceed a step farther in their applications. They presented a petition, in which they prayed the king to check

¹ Walsing. p. 150.

² Rymer, vol. vii. p. 161.

the prevailing custom among the barons of forming illegal confederacies and supporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging answer to this petition; but another part of their application, that all the great officers should, during the king's minority, be appointed by Parliament, which seemed to require the concurrence of the Commons, as well as that of the Upper House, in the nomination, was not complied with; the Lords alone assumed the power of appointing these officers; the Commons tacitly acquiesced in the choice, and thought that, for the present, they themselves had proceeded a sufficient length if they but advanced their pretensions, though rejected, of interposing in these more important matters of state.

On this footing, then, the government stood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name; no regency was expressly appointed; the nine counsellors and the great officers named by the Peers did their duty, each in his respective department; and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the Duke of Lancaster, who was in reality the regent.

The Parliament was dissolved, after the Commons had represented the necessity of their being reassembled once every year, as appointed by law, and after having elected two citizens as their treasurers to receive and disburse the produce of two fifteenths and tenths which they had voted to the crown. In the other Parliaments called during the minority, the Commons still discover a strong spirit of freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breeding any disturbance, tended to secure their independence and that of the people.³

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connections with France that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of *Wise*, as he had already baffled all the experience and

³ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

valor of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king; but his genius, which was not naturally enterprising, led him not, at present, to give any disturbance to his neighbors; and he labored besides under many difficulties at home, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; had lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the cession of the King of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the Duke of Brittany;⁴ and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter, was able, even in its present situation, to give disturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the English from these important posts, he died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a minor son, who bore the name of Charles VI.

[1378.] Meanwhile the war with France was carried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no enterprise of great lustre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne.⁵ The Duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a subsequent year the Duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of two thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry, and scrupled not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois, the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany.⁶ [1380.] The Duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him; but the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the Duke of Brittany, soon after the arrival of these succors, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprise also proved in the issue unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the Parliament, besides making some alterations in the council, to impose a new and unusual tax of

⁴ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 190.

⁶ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 50, 51. Walsing. p. 239.

⁵ Walsing. p. 209.

three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny which was singular in its circumstances. All history abounds with examples where the great tyrannize over the meaner sort; but here the lowest populace rose against their rulers, committed the most cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

[1381]. The faint dawn of the arts and of good government in that age had excited the minds of the populace in different states of Europe to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry had so long imposed upon them. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the mutiny of the peasants in France, were the natural effects of this growing spirit of independence; and the report of these events being brought into England, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissart,⁷ was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an insurrection. One John Ball also, a seditious preacher who affected low popularity, went about the country, and inculcated on his audience the principles of the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species and the aggrandizement of a few insolent rulers.⁸ These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude, and scattered the sparks of that sedition which the present tax raised into a conflagration.⁹

The imposition of three groats a head had been farmed out to tax-gatherers in each county, who levied the money on the people with rigor; and the clause of making the rich ease their poorer neighbors of some share of the burden being so vague and indeterminate, had, doubtless, occasioned many partialities, and made the people more sensible of the

⁷ Liv. ii. chap. 74.

⁸ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 74. Walsing. p. 275.

⁹ There were two verses at that time in the mouths of all the common people, which, in spite of prejudice, one cannot but regard with some degree of approbation:

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?

unequal lot which fortune had assigned them in the distribution of her favors. The first disorder was raised by a blacksmith in a village of Essex. The tax-gatherers came to this man's shop while he was at work, and they demanded payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid; which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms; the whole neighborhood joined in the sedition; the flame spread in an instant over the county; it soon propagated itself into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control or opposition: the populace had shaken off all regard to their former masters; and being headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed everywhere the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The mutinous populace, amounting to one hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath, under their leaders Tyler and Straw; and as the Princess of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they insulted her attendants; and some of the most insolent among them, to show their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced kisses from her; but they allowed her to continue her journey without attempting any farther injury.¹⁰ They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower; and they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but, on his approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms of tumult and insolence that he put back, and returned to that fortress.¹¹ The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favored by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom

¹⁰ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 74.

¹¹ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 75.

they laid hold of; expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attorneys; and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants.¹² A great body of them quartered themselves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the Tower, which was weakly garrisoned, and ill supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to them and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands instead of the services due by villanage. These requests, which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not sufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them; and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.¹³

During this transaction, another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction; and continued their ravages in the city.¹⁴ The king, passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner that Walworth, the Mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly despatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and, accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him: he led them into the

¹² Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 76. Walsing, pp. 248, 249.

¹³ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 77.

¹⁴ Walsing. pp. 250, 251.

fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city; being there joined by Sir Robert Knolles and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows.¹⁵ Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thousand strong.¹⁶ It then behoved all the rebels to submit; the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by Parliament; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Some were even executed without process or form of law.¹⁷ It was pretended that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests except the mendicant friars; to despatch afterwards the king himself; and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure.¹⁸ It is not impossible but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects; but of all the evils incident to human society, the insurrections of the populace, when not raised and supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded: the mischiefs consequent to an abolition of all rank and distinction become so great that they are immediately felt, and soon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

A youth of sixteen (which was at this time the king's age), who had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, and had so dexterously eluded the violence of this tumult, raised great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which had so uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings. [1385.] But in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes vanished; and his want of capacity, at least of

¹⁵ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 77. Walsing. p. 252. Knyghton, p. 2637.

¹⁶ Walsing. p. 267.

¹⁷ 5 Rich. II. cap. ult. as quoted in the Observations on ancient Statutes, p. 262.

¹⁸ Walsing. p. 265.

solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been sent over with a body of one thousand five hundred men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. The danger was now deemed by the king's uncles somewhat serious; and a numerous army of sixty thousand men was levied, and they marched into Scotland, with Richard himself at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force; they abandoned without scruple their country to be pillaged and destroyed by the enemy; and when De Vienne expressed his surprise at this plan of operations, they told him that all their cattle were driven into the forests and fastnesses, that their houses and other goods were of small value, and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might sustain in that respect by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and the east coast, the Scots, to the number of thirty thousand men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and, carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and then returned in tranquillity to their own country. Richard meanwhile advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each side of him; he reduced that city to ashes; he treated in the same manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries; but when he was advised to march towards the west coast, to await there the return of the enemy, and to take revenge on them for their devastations, his impatience to return to England and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements outweighed every consideration; and he led back his army without effecting anything by all these mighty preparations. The Scots, soon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desultory kind of war to which they confined themselves, treated their allies so ill that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country and with the manners of its inhabitants.¹⁹ And the English, though they regretted the indolence and levity of their king, saw themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

[1386.] But it was so material an interest of the French

¹⁹ Froisart, liv. ii. chap. 149, 150, &c., liv. iii. chap. 52. Walsing. pp. 316, 317.

court to wrest the seaport towns from the hands of the enemy that they resolved to attempt it by some other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluise; for the Flemings were now in alliance with them; all the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprise; the English were kept in alarm; great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders; and though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and the taking of many of them by the English before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and council were fully sensible that this perilous situation might every moment return upon them.²⁰

There were two circumstances, chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of such attempts. The one was the absence of the Duke of Lancaster, who had carried into Spain the flower of the English military force, in prosecution of his vain claim to the crown of Castile—an enterprise in which, after some promising success, he was finally disappointed; the other was the violent dissensions and disorders which had taken place in the English government.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the Duke of Gloucester, a prince of ambition and genius, though it was not unsuitable to his years and slender capacity, was extremely disagreeable to his violent temper; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute authority.

The king set so little bounds to his affection that he first created his favorite Marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then Duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in Parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island.²¹ He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Courci, Earl of Bedford; but soon after he permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamored.²² These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the

²⁰ Froissart, liv. iii. chap. 41, 53. Walsing. pp. 322, 323.

²¹ Cotton, pp. 310, 311. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 129. Walsing. p. 324.

²² Walsing. p. 328.

minion ; all favors passed through his hands ; access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation ; and Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority but so far as it enabled him to load with favors and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

The jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other ; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favorites were loudly echoed and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the mareschal, Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, were all connected with each other, and with the princes, by friendship or alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipsed them in the king's favor and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they scorned to submit to his ministers ; and the method which they took to redress the grievance complained of well suited the violence of the age, and proves the desperate extremities to which every opposition was sure to be instantly carried.

Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, and lately created Earl of Suffolk, was the son of an eminent merchant, but had risen by his abilities and valor during the wars of Edward III., had acquired the friendship of that monarch, and was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the Duke of Ireland and the king's secret council. The Duke of Gloucester, who had the House of Commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power which they seem first to have assumed against Lord Latimer, during the declining years of the late king ; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the House of Peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king foresaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. After attempting in vain to rouse the Londoners to his defence, he withdrew from Parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The Parliament sent a deputation inviting him to return, and threatening that, if he persisted in absenting himself, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the nation, though at that time in imminent danger of a French invasion, without any support or supply for its defence. At the same time a member was encouraged to call for the record con-

taining the Parliamentary deposition of Edward II.—a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect from them. The king, finding himself unable to resist, was content to stipulate that, except finishing the present impeachment against Suffolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers; and on that condition he returned to the Parliament.²³

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk than the frivolousness of the crimes which his enemies, in the present plenitude of their power, thought proper to object against him.²⁴ It was alleged that, being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to consult the king's profit, he had purchased lands of the crown below their true value; that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of four hundred marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was assigned upon the customs of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income; that having obtained for his son the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy, and a schismatic, and a new prior being at the same time named by the pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his son, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; and he had purchased from one Tydeman, of Limborch, an old and forfeited annuity of fifty pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that bad debt; and that when created Earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year to support the dignity of that title.²⁵ Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient upon the trial; it appeared that Suffolk had made no purchase from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity.²⁶ It is almost needless to add that he was condemned, notwithstanding his defence, and that he was deprived of his office.

Gloucester and his associates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers; but

²³ See note [E] at the end of the volume.

²⁴ Cotton, p. 315. Knyghton, p. 2683.

²⁵ It is probable that the Earl of Suffolk was not rich, nor able to support the dignity without the bounty of the crown; for his father, Michael de la Pole, though a great merchant, had been ruined by lending money to the late king. See Cotton, p. 194. We may remark that the Dukes of Gloucester and York, though vastly rich, received, at the same time, each of them a thousand pounds a year to support their dignity. Rymer, vol. vii. p. 481. Cotton p. 310.

²⁶ Cotton, p. 315.

they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission after the model of those which had been attempted almost in every reign since that of Richard I., and which had always been attended with extreme confusion.²⁷ By this commission, which was ratified by Parliament, a council of fourteen persons was appointed, all of Gloucester's faction, except Nevil, Archbishop of York; the sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelvemonth; the king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned; the aristocracy was rendered supreme; and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wrested from those grasping hands to which it was once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to submit; he signed the commission which violence had extorted from him; he took an oath never to infringe it; and though at the end of the session he *publicly* entered a protest that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired,²⁸ the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

[1387] The king, thus dispossessed of royal power, was soon sensible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favorites and ministers, who were as yet allowed to remain about his person, failed not to aggravate the injury which, without any demerit on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itself sufficiently inclined to seek the means both of recovering his authority and of revenging himself on those who had invaded it. As the House of Commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favorable election; he sounded some of the sheriffs, who, being at that time both the returning officers and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections.²⁹ But as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority or during the course of the present commission, he found them, in general, averse to his enterprise. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favorable to him. He met at Nottingham Sir

²⁷ Knyghton, p. 2686. Statutes at Large, 10 Richard II. cap. 1.

²⁸ Cotton, p. 318.

²⁹ In the preamble to 5 Henry IV. cap. 7, it is implied that the sheriffs in a manner appointed the members of the House of Commons not only in this Parliament, but in many others.

Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Robert Belknappe, chief justice of the common pleas, Sir John Carey, chief baron of the exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior justices, and Lockton, sergeant-at-law; and he proposed to them some queries, which these lawyers, either from the influence of his authority or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he desired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who procured it or advised the king to consent to it were punishable with death; that those who necessitated and compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving Parliaments at pleasure; that the Parliament, while it sits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges.³⁰ Even according to our present strict maxims with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations except the two last appear justifiable; and as the great privileges of the Commons, particularly that of impeachment, were hitherto new and supported by few precedents, there want not plausible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges.³¹ They signed, therefore, their answer to the king's queries before the Archbishops of York and Dublin, the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and two other counsellors of inferior quality.

The Duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They saw the king's intentions; and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As soon as he came to London, which they knew was well disposed to their party, they secretly assembled their forces, and ap-

³⁰ Knyghton, p. 2694. Ypod. Neust. p. 541.

³¹ The Parliament, in 1341, exacted of Edward III. that on the third day of every session the king should resume all the great offices, and that the ministers should then answer to any accusation that should be brought against them, which plainly implies that, while ministers, they could not be accused or impeached in Parliament. Henry IV. told the Commons that the usage of Parliament required them to go first through the king's business in granting supplies, which order the king intended not to alter. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 65. Upon the whole it must be allowed that, according to ancient practice and principles, there are at least plausible grounds for all these opinions of the judges. It must be remarked that this affirmation of Henry IV. was given deliberately after consulting the House of Peers, who were much better acquainted with the usage of Parliament than the ignorant Commons. And it has the greater authority because Henry IV. had made this very principle a considerable article of charge against his predecessor, and that a very few years before. So ill grounded were most of the imputations thrown on the unhappy Richard!

peared in arms at Haringay Park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to resist. They sent him a message by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his presence, armed, and attended with armed followers; and they accused, by name, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other obnoxious ministers, had withdrawn, or had concealed themselves.

The Duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Gloucester encountered him in Oxfordshire with much superior forces, routed him, dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. [1388.] The Lords then appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men; and having obliged the king to summon a Parliament, which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers, men whose combined power was able at any time to shake the throne—the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle; the Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster; the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Nottingham, Mareschal of England, entered before the Parliament an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The Parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound themselves to live and die with the lords appellants, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes.³²

The other proceedings were well suited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge consisting of thirty-nine articles was delivered in by the appellants; and as none of the accused counsellors except Sir Nicholas Brembre was

³² Cotton, p. 322.

in custody, the rest were cited to appear; and upon their absenting themselves, the House of Peers, after a very short interval, without hearing a witness, without examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared them guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial: the Peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very summary manner, sentence of death upon him; and he was executed, together with Sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval.

It would be tedious to recite the whole charge delivered in against the five counsellors, which is to be met with in several collections.³³ It is sufficient to observe, in general, that if we reason upon the supposition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the commission extorted by the Duke of Gloucester and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear not only to imply no crime in the Duke of Ireland and the ministers, but to ascribe to them actions which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers before that commission, which subverted the constitution and annihilated all justice and legal authority, are vague and general; such as their engrossing the king's favor, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and dissipating the public treasure by useless expenses. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act;³⁴ no breach of any statute; and their administration may therefore be concluded to have been so far innocent and inoffensive. All the disorders indeed seem to have proceeded not from any violation of the laws, or any ministerial tyranny, but merely from a rivalry of power, which the Duke of Gloucester and the great nobility, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmost extremity against their opponents, without any regard to reason, justice, or humanity.

But these were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of the party. All the other judges, who had signed the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favor, banished

³³ Knyghton, p. 2715. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2, p. 919, from the Records. *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 414.

³⁴ See note [F] at the end of the volume.

to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the king's ministers, as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, and John Salisbury were also tried and condemned for high treason, merely because they had attempted to defeat the late commission; but the life of the latter was spared. The fate of Sir Simon Burley was more severe; this gentleman was much beloved for his personal merit, had distinguished himself by many honorable actions,³⁵ was created knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard by the choice of the late king and of the Black Prince; he had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him; yet all these considerations could not save him from falling a victim to Gloucester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on the mind of Richard; his queen too (for he was already married to the sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia), interested herself in behalf of Burley: she remained three hours on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though she was become extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of *the good Queen Anne*, her petition was sternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant.

The Parliament concluded this violent scene by a declaration that none of the articles decided on these trials to be treason should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their decisions. The House of Lords seem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged the principle that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and Commons, had established in their legislative.³⁶ It was also enacted that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts passed during this Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication as a farther security to these violent transactions.

³⁵ At least this is the character given of him by Froissart, liv. ii., who knew him personally. Walsingham, p. 334, gives a very different character of him; but he is a writer somewhat passionate and partial; and the choice made of this gentleman by Edward III. and the Black Prince for the education of Richard makes the character given by Froissart much more probable.

³⁶ See note [G] at the end of the volume.

[1389.] It might naturally be expected that the king, being reduced to such slavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared so unable to defend his servants from the cruel effects of their resentment, would long remain in subjection to them, and never would recover the royal power without the most violent struggles and convulsions; but the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office on William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop of Hereford was displaced from the office of treasurer, the Earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council; and no opposition was made to these great changes. The history of this reign is imperfect, and little to be depended on, except where it is supported by public records; and it is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. Perhaps some secret animosities, naturally to be expected in that situation, had crept in among the great men, and had enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had lost them the affections of the people, who soon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. However this may be, Richard exercised with moderation the authority which he had resumed. He seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles ³⁷ and the other great men of whom he had so much reason to complain; he never attempted to recall from banishment the Duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them; he confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which the Parliament had passed for all offences; and he courted the affections of the people by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him—a remarkable and almost singular instance of such generosity.

After this composure of domestic differences, and this restoration of the government to its natural state, there passes an interval of eight years, which affords not many

³⁷ Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 170.

remarkable events. The Duke of Lancaster returned from Spain, having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile upon payment of a large sum of money,³⁸ and having married his daughter, Philippa, to the King of Portugal. The authority of this prince served to counter-balance that of the Duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard, who paid great court to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger. He made a cessation to him for life of the duchy of Guienne,³⁹ which the inclinations and changeable humor of the Gascons had restored to the English government; but as they remonstrated loudly against this deed, it was finally, with the duke's consent, revoked by Richard.⁴⁰ There happened an incident which produced a dissension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess, he espoused Catherine Swineford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose alliance York and Gloucester thought the dignity of their family much injured; but the king gratified his uncle by passing in Parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had borne him before marriage, and by creating the eldest Earl of Somerset.⁴¹

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown still continued, though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigor, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Piercy and Douglas than from any national quarrel: a fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne,⁴² in which young Piercy, surnamed *Hotspur* from his impetuous valor, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and the victory remained undecided.⁴³ Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered in some degree, by this enterprise, his character of courage, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. [1396.] At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace, but found it so

³⁸ Knyghton, p. 2677. Walsing. p. 342.

⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 687.

⁴² August 15, 1388.

⁴³ Froissart, liv. iii. chap. 124, 125, 126. Walsing. p. 355.

³⁹ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 659.

⁴¹ Cotton, p. 365. Walsing. p. 352.

difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years;⁴⁴ Brest and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the Duke of Brittany, the latter to the King of Navarre; both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce; and to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles.⁴⁵ This princess was only seven years of age; but the king agreed to so unequal a match, chiefly that he might fortify himself by this alliance against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

The administration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, sullied by any unpopular act except the seizing of the charter of London,⁴⁶ which was soon after restored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a good measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures, he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity, and dissipated, in idle show or in bounties to favorites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprises directed to public honor and advantage. He forgot his rank by admitting all men to his familiarity; and he was not sensible that their acquaintance with the qualities of his mind was not able to impress them with the respect which he neglected to preserve from his birth and station. The Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his half-brothers, were his chief confidants and favorites; and though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the Duke of Ireland, it was easy for men to see that every grace passed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himself a mere cipher in the government. The small regard which the public bore to his person disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the discontented or ambitious grandes suggested to them.

[1397.] Gloucester soon perceived the advantages which this dissolute conduct gave him; and finding that both resentment and jealousy on the part of his nephew still

⁴⁴ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 820.

⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 727. Walsing. p. 347.

⁴⁵ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 811.

prevented him from acquiring any ascendancy over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favor and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council; he never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favorites; and he courted the friendship of every man whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this subject. Forgetting the misfortunes which attended the English arms during the later years of Edward, he made an invidious comparison between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the present, and he lamented that Richard should have degenerated so much from the heroic virtues by which his father and his grandfather were distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a desire of war when they heard him talk of the signal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valor of the English: the populace readily embraced the same sentiments; and all men exclaimed that this prince, whose counsels were so much neglected, was the true support of English honor, and alone able to raise the nation to its former power and splendor. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable⁴⁷—all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court favor, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

Froissart,⁴⁸ a contemporary writer, and very impartial, but whose credit is somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the Duke of Gloucester more desperate views, and such as were totally incompatible with the government and domestic tranquillity of the nation. According to that historian, he proposed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, whom Richard had declared his successor, to give him immediate possession of the throne by the deposition of a prince so unworthy of power and authority; and when Mortimer declined the project, he resolved to make a partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the Earl of Arundel, and entirely

⁴⁷ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 152.

⁴⁸ Liv. iv. chap. 86.

to dispossess Richard of the crown. The king, it is said, being informed of these designs, saw that either his own ruin or that of Gloucester was inevitable, and he resolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of such destructive projects. This is certain, that Gloucester, by his own confession, had often affected to speak contemptuously of the king's person and government; and deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even borne part in a secret conference where his deposition was proposed, and talked of, and determined;⁴⁹ but it is reasonable to think that his schemes were not so far advanced as to make him resolve on putting them immediately into execution. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely necessary for the security of government.

But whatever opinion we may form of the danger arising from Gloucester's conspiracies, his aversion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to provide for his own safety by punishing the traitorous designs of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived; the sense of his refractory and uncompliant behavior was still recent; and a man whose ambition had once usurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful servants of the king, was thought capable, on a favorable opportunity, of renewing the same criminal enterprises. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: he ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody.⁵⁰ The Earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time; the malcontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders, were astonished and overawed; and the concurrence of the Dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures, together with the Earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldest sons of these princes,⁵¹ bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

A parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster.

⁴⁹ Cotton, p. 378. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2, p. 972, from the Records. Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 473. That this confession was genuine, and obtained without violence, may be entirely depended on. Judge Rickhill, who brought it over from Calais, was tried on that account, and acquitted in the first Parliament of Henry IV., when Gloucester's party was prevalent. His acquittal, notwithstanding his innocence, may even appear marvellous, considering the times. See Cotton, p. 393.

⁵⁰ Froissart, liv. iv. c. ap. 90. Walsing. p. 354.

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 7.

ster; and the king doubted not to find the Peers, and still more the Commons, very compliant with his will. This house had, in a former Parliament, given him very sensible proofs of their attachment;⁵² and the present suppression of Gloucester's party made him still more assured of a favorable election. As a farther expedient for that purpose, he is also said to have employed the influence of the sheriffs—a practice which, though not unusual, gave umbrage, but which the established authority of that assembly rendered afterwards still more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the Parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them;⁵³ they annulled forever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar commission;⁵⁴ they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which that Parliament who passed them, and the whole nation, had sworn inviolably to maintain; and they declared the general pardon then granted to the invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he resumed the government and lay no longer under constraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity, this circumstance seemed not, in their eyes, to merit any consideration. Even a particular pardon granted six years after to the Earl of Arundel was annulled by Parliament, on pretence that it had been procured by surprise, and that the king was not then fully apprised of the degree of guilt incurred by that noble man.

The Commons then preferred an impeachment against Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a sentence which banished him the kingdom and sequestered his temporalities.⁵⁵ An appeal or acquisition was presented against the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick by the Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the Lords

⁵² See note [H] at the end of the volume.

⁵³ The nobles brought numerous retainers with them to give them security, as we are told by Walsingham, p. 354. The king had only a few Cheshire men for his guard.

⁵⁴ Statutes at Large, 21, Richard II.

⁵⁵ Cotton, p. 368.

Spenser and Scrope, and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishop, as well as of their appearance against the king in a hostile manner at Haringay Park. The Earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but, his plea being overruled, he was condemned and executed.⁵⁶ The Earl of Warwick, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behavior, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. No new acts of treason were imputed to either of these noblemen. The only crimes for which they were condemned were the old attempts against the crown, which seemed to be obliterated both by the distance of time and by repeated pardons.⁵⁷ The reasons of this method of proceeding it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conspiracies of Gloucester seem certain from his own confession; but perhaps the king and ministry had not at that time in their hands any satisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps an inquiry into these conspiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation; or perhaps the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, and was only solicitous, by any means, to insure success in these prosecutions. These points, like many others in ancient history, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

A warrant was issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the Duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. Nothing could be more suspicious, from the time, than the circumstances of that prince's death; it became immediately the general opinion that he was murdered by orders from his nephew: in the subsequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in Parliament that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers.⁵⁸ And it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popu-

⁵⁶ Cotton, p. 377. Froissart, liv. iv. chap. 90. Walsing. p. 354.

⁵⁷ Tyrrel, vol. iii. part ii. p. 968, from the Records.

Cotton, pp. 399, 400. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 171.

lar a prince, and so near a relation, might prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this base method of gratifying and, as he fancied, concealing his revenge upon him. Both parties, in their successive triumphs, seem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adversaries; and neither of them were aware that, by imitating, they indirectly justified, as far as it lay in their power, all the illegal violence of the opposite party.

This session concluded with the creation or advancement of several peers: the Earl of Derby was made Duke of Hereford; the Earl of Rutland, Duke of Albemarle; the Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey; the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; the Earl of Somerset, Marquis of Dorset; Lord Spenser, Earl of Gloucester; Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Piercy, Earl of Worcester; William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire.⁵⁹ The Parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The king, before the departure of the members, exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance and establishment of all their acts—an oath similar to that which had formerly been required by the Duke of Gloucester and his party, and which had already proved so vain and fruitless.

Both the king and Parliament met in the same dispositions at Shrewsbury. So anxious was Richard for the security of these acts that he obliged the Lords and Commons to swear anew to them on the cross of Canterbury;⁶⁰ [1398.] and he soon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually secured and established.⁶¹ The Parliament, on the other hand, conferred on him, *for life* the duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, and granted him, besides, a subsidy of one-tenth and a half and one-fifteenth and a half. They also reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges, and, with the approbation of the present judges, declared the answers for which these magistrates had been impeached to be just and legal;⁶² and they carried so far their retrospect as to reverse, on the petition of Lord Spenser, Earl of Gloucester, the attainder pronounced against the two Spensers in the reign of Edward II.⁶³ The ancient history of England is nothing but a catalogue of reversals: every thing is in fluctuation and movement; one faction is continually undoing what was es-

⁵⁹ Cotton, pp. 370. 371.

⁶⁰ Cotton, p. 371.

⁶² Statutes at Large, 21 Richard II.

⁶¹ Walsing. p. 355.

⁶³ Cotton, p. 372.

established by another; and the multiplied oaths which each party exacted for the security of the present acts betray a perpetual consciousness of their instability.

The Parliament, before they were dissolved, elected a committee of twelve lords and six commoners,⁶⁴ whom they invested with the whole power both of Lords and Commons, and endowed with full authority to finish all business which had been laid before the Houses, and which they had not had leisure to bring to a conclusion.⁶⁵ This was an unusual concession, and, though it was limited in the object, might, either immediately or as a precedent, have proved dangerous to the constitution; but the cause of that extraordinary measure was an event, singular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the Parliament.

After the destruction of the Duke of Gloucester and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the king wanted either authority sufficient to appease it or foresight to prevent it. The Duke of Hereford appeared in Parliament, and accused the Duke of Norfolk of having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal nobility.⁶⁶ Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed; and as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the Parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee than to prolong the session beyond the usual time which custom and general convenience had prescribed to it.⁶⁷

The Duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honor, when he revealed a private conversation to the ruin of the person who had intrusted him; and we may thence be more inclined to believe the Duke of

⁶⁴ The names of the commissioners were the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Albe-marle, Surrey, and Exeter; the Marquis of Dorset; the Earls of March, Salisbury, Northumberland, Gloucester, Winchester, and Wiltshire; John Bussey, Henry Green, John Russel, Robert Teyne, Henry Chelmswicke, and John Golofre. It is to be remarked that the Duke of Lancaster always concurred with the rest in all their proceedings, even in the banishment of his son, which was afterwards so much complained of.

⁶⁵ Cotton, p. 372. Walsing. p. 355.

⁶⁶ Cotton, p. 372. Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 490.

⁶⁷ In the first year of Henry VI, when the authority of Parliament was great, and when that assembly could least be suspected of lying under violence, a like concession was made to the privy council from like motives of convenience. See Cotton, p. 564.

Norfolk's denial than the other's asseveration. But Norfolk had in these transactions betrayed an equal neglect of honor, which brings him entirely on a level with his antagonist. Though he had publicly joined with the Duke of Gloucester and his party in all the former acts of violence against the king—and his name stands among the appellants who accused the Duke of Ireland and the other ministers—yet was he not ashamed publicly to impeach his former associates for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing; and his name increases the list of those appellants who brought them to a trial. Such were the principles and practices of those ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the aristocratical government and the reign of chivalry.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king; all the nobility of England banded into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or the other; the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event; but when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the combat, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of such noble blood and the future consequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners he stopped the duel; and, to show his impartiality, he ordered, by the same authority, both the combatants to leave the kingdom,⁶⁸ assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

Hereford was a man of great prudence and command of temper; and he behaved himself with so much submission, in these delicate circumstances, that the king, before his departure, promised to shorten the term of his exile four years; and he also granted him letters-patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

The weakness and fluctuation of Richard's counsels appear nowhere more evident than in the conduct of this affair. No sooner had Hereford left the kingdom than the king's jealousy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived; and he was sensible that by Gloucester's death he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to his crown and

⁶⁸ Cotton, p. 380. Walsing. p. 356.

kingdom. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finishing of an alliance which would so much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries; and he sent over the Earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. [1399] The death of the Duke of Lancaster, which happened soon after, called upon him to take new resolutions with regard to that opulent succession. The present duke, in consequence of the king's patent, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdictions of his father; but Richard, afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had already so much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them that this affair was but an appendage to that business which the Parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters-patent, and retained possession of the estate of Lancaster; and by the same authority he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and insisted on the letters, and he had him condemned as a traitor for faithfully executing that trust to his master.⁶⁹ An extravagant act of power! even though the king changed, in favor of the attorney, the penalty of death into that of banishment.

Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and having served with distinction against the infidels in Lithuania, he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valor, virtues which have at all times a great influence over mankind, and were, during those ages, the qualities chiefly held in estimation.⁷⁰ He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. The people, who must have an object of affection, who found nothing in the king's person which they could love or revere, and who were even disgusted with many parts of his conduct,⁷¹ easily transferred to Henry that attachment which the death of

⁶⁹ Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2, p. 991, from the Records.

⁷⁰ Walsing. p. 343.

⁷¹ He levied fines upon those who had ten years before joined the Duke of Gloucester and his party; they were obliged to pay him money before he would allow them to enjoy the benefit of the indemnity; and in the articles of charge against him, it is asserted that the payment of one fine did not suffice. It is indeed likely that his ministers would abuse the power put into their hands; and this grievance extended to very many people. Historians agree in representing this practice as a great oppression. See Otterbourne, p. 199.

the Duke of Gloucester had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had suffered was complained of; and all the men turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honor of the nation or redress the supposed abuses in the government.

While such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland in order to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger, Earl of March, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish by the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the young Earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England. Here he took a solemn oath that he had no other purpose in this invasion than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him; and he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension. Every place was in commotion: the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of sixty thousand combatants.

The Duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his slender abilities and his natural connections with the Duke of Lancaster rendered him utterly incapable of filling in such a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have seconded the guardian's good intentions or have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were everywhere more feeble than those of his enemies. The Duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Alban's, and soon assembled an army of forty thousand men; but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened, therefore, very readily to a message from Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in

the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the same measures; and the Duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely master of the kingdom. He hastened to Bristol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves; and soon obliging that place to surrender, he yielded to the popular wishes, and, without giving them a trial, ordered the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussey, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took prisoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of twenty thousand men; but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom or seized with the same spirit of disaffection; and they gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. It appeared, therefore, necessary to retire secretly from this small body, which served only to expose him to danger; and he fled to the Isle of Anglesea, where he purposed to embark either for Ireland or France, and there await the favorable opportunities which the return of his subjects to a sense of duty, or their future discontents against the Duke of Lancaster, would probably afford him. Henry, sensible of the danger, sent to him the Earl of Northumberland with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and that nobleman, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Castle. Richard was conducted to London by the Duke of Lancaster, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and, in the name of the city, entreated him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were prisoners;⁷² but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt before he would proceed to those extremities. For this purpose he issued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a Parliament at Westminster.

Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear against Henry amidst that scene

⁷² Walsingham.

of outrage and violence which commonly attend revolutions, especially in England, during those turbulent ages. It is also easy to imagine that a House of Commons elected during this universal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be extremely attached to that cause, and ready to second every suggestion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to stem the torrent, was always carried along with it, and served only to increase the violence which the public interest required it should endeavor to control. The Duke of Lancaster, therefore, sensible that he should be entirely master, began to carry his views to the crown itself; and he deliberated with his partisans concerning the most proper means of effecting his daring purpose. He first extorted a resignation from Richard;⁷³ but, as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have him solemnly deposed in Parliament for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up against him and presented to that assembly.⁷⁴

If we examine these articles, which are expressed with extreme acrimony against Richard, we shall find that, except some rash speeches which are imputed to him,⁷⁵ and of whose reality, as they are said to have passed in private conversation, we may reasonably entertain some doubt, the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two last years of his reign, and naturally divides itself into two principal heads. The first and most considerable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons who had formerly usurped, and still persevered in controlling and threatening, his authority; the second is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former, however irregular in many of its circumstances, was fully supported by authority of Parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons themselves, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party. The detention of Lancaster's estate was, properly speaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace which the king himself had formerly granted him. The murder of Gloucester (for the

⁷³ Knyghton, p. 2744. Otterbourne, p. 212.

⁷⁴ Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2, p. 1008, from the Records. Knyghton, p. 2746. Otterbourne, p. 214.

⁷⁵ Art. 16, 26.

secret execution, however merited, of that prince certainly deserves this appellation) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped or arbitrary power of the crown which could justly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a defect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves that, instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the second head of accusation, as it mostly consists of general facts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be answered by him or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of these grievances imputed to Richard seems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; such as the dispensing power,⁷⁶ levying purveyance,⁷⁷ employing the marshal's court,⁷⁸ extorting loans,⁷⁹ granting protections from lawsuits⁸⁰—prerogatives which, though often complained of, had often been exercised by his predecessors, and still continued to be so by his successors. [1357.] But whether his irregular acts of this kind were more frequent and injudicious and violent than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather: he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without consent of Parliament, during his whole reign; ⁸¹ scarcely a year passed, during the reign of Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But perhaps the ascendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives, and rendered them a smaller grievance in his hands than a less absolute authority in those of his grandson. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain that a charge

⁷⁶ Art. 13, 17, 18.

⁷⁷ Art. 22.

⁷⁸ Art. 27.

⁷⁹ Art. 14.

⁸⁰ Art. 16.

⁸¹ We learn from Cotton, p. 362, that the king, by his chancellor, told the Commons "that they were sunderly bound to him, and namely in forbearing to charge them with dismes and fifteens, the which he meant *no more* to charge them in his own person." These words "*no more*" allude to the practice of his predecessors; he had not himself imposed any arbitrary taxes; even the Parliament, in the articles of his deposition, though they complain of heavy taxes, affirm not that they were imposed illegally or by arbitrary will.

drawn up by the Duke of Lancaster, and assented to by a Parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular.⁸²

When the charge against Richard was presented to the Parliament, though it was liable almost in every article to objections, it was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either House, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, the Bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though some topics employed by that virtuous prelate may seem to favor too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind, he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his abhorrence of the present licentious factions; and such intrepidity, as well as disinterestedness of behavior, proves that, whatever his speculative principles were, his heart was elevated far above the meanness and abject submission of a slave. He represented to the Parliament that all the abuses of government which could justly be imputed to Richard, instead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel, and admitted of a remedy more easy and salutary than a total subversion of the constitution. That even had they been much more violent and dangerous than they really were, they had chiefly proceeded from former examples of resistance, which, making the prince sensible of his precarious situation, had obliged him to establish his throne by irregular and arbitrary expedients. That a rebellious disposition in subjects was the principal cause of tyranny in kings: laws could never secure the subject which did not give security to the sovereign; and if the maxim of inviolable loyalty, which formed the basis of the English government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the several orders of the state, instead of being fortified by that licentiousness, would thereby lose the surest foundation of their force and stability. That the parliamentary deposition of Edward II., far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of successful violence; and it was sufficiently to be lamented that crimes were so often committed in the world, without establishing principles which might justify and authorize them. That

⁸² See note [I] at the end of the volume.

even that precedent, false and dangerous as it was, could never warrant the present excesses, which were so much greater, and which would entail distraction and misery on the nation to the latest posterity. That the succession, at least, of the crown was then preserved inviolate; the lineal heir was placed on the throne; and the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor. That a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late Duke of Lancaster, had been declared in Parliament successor to the crown; he had left posterity; and their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people. That if the turbulent disposition alone of the nation had overturned the well-established throne of so good a prince as Richard, what bloody commotions must ensue when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? That the new government intended to be established would stand on no principle, and would scarcely retain any pretence by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue. That the claim of lineal descent was so gross as scarcely to deceive the most ignorant of the populace; conquest could never be pleaded by a rebel against his sovereign; the consent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from consent, but established by hereditary right; and however the nation might be justified in deposing the misguided Richard, it could never have any reason for setting aside his lawful heir and successor, who was plainly innocent. And that the Duke of Lancaster would give them but a bad specimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion the guilt of excluding the family which, both by right of blood and by declaration of Parliament, would, in case of Richard's demise or voluntary resignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy.⁸³

All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the late revolution in 1688, show the difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its established privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous aristocracy, plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into those of another. This noble freedom of

⁸³ Sir John Heywarde, p. 101.

the Bishop of Carlisle, instead of being applauded, was not so much as tolerated: he was immediately arrested, by order of the Duke of Lancaster, and sent a prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's. No farther debate was attempted; thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard, and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who, a little before, had voluntarily and unanimously authorized those very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the suffrages of both Houses; and the throne being now vacant, the Duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ,⁸⁴ he pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original language because of their singularity:

“In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blode, coming fro the gude King Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance, and ondoying of the gude laws.”⁸⁵

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed that there was a silly story, received among some of the lowest vulgar, that Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., was really the elder brother of Edward I., but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present Duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy, and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech; but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or by the Parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign; he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons; he could not, therefore, be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. Still there is a third claim, derived from his merits in saving the nation from tyranny and oppression; and this claim is also insin-

⁸⁴ Cotton, p. 389.

⁸⁵ Knyghton, p. 2757.

uated; but as it seemed, by its nature, better calculated as a reason for his being *elected* king by a free choice than for giving him an immediate right of possession, he durst not speak openly even on this head; and to obviate any notion of election, he challenges the crown as his due either by acquisition or inheritance. The whole forms such a piece of jargon and nonsense as is almost without example; no objection, however, was made to it in Parliament: the unanimous voice of Lords and Commons placed Henry on the throne; he became king, nobody could tell how or wherefore; the title of the house of March, formerly recognized by Parliament, was neither invalidated nor appealed, but passed over in total silence; and as a concern for the liberties of the people seems to have had no hand in this revolution, their right to dispose of the government, as well as all their other privileges, was left precisely on the same footing as before. But Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped some obscure hint concerning conquest, which, it was thought, might endanger these privileges, he soon after made a public declaration that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchises or liberties;⁸⁶ which was the only circumstance where we shall find meaning or common-sense in all these transactions.

The subsequent events discovered the same headlong violence of conduct, and the same rude notions of civil government. The deposition of Richard dissolved the Parliament; it was necessary to summon a new one; and Henry, in six days after, called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new Parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. All the acts of the last Parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths and by a papal bull, were abrogated; all the acts which had passed in the Parliament where Gloucester prevailed, which had also been confirmed by their oaths, but which had been abrogated by Richard, were anew established;⁸⁷ the answers of Tresilian and the other judges, which a Parliament had annulled, but which a new Parliament and new judges had approved, here received a second condemnation. The Peers who had accused Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had received higher titles for that piece of service, were all of them degraded from their new dignities; even the practice of prosecuting ap-

⁸⁶ Knyghton, p. 2759. Otterbourne, p. 220.

⁸⁷ Cotton, p. 390.

peals in Parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy against an individual rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly abolished; and trials were restored to the course of common law.⁸⁸ The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with such rapid and perpetual changes, and to make them lose all notions of right and wrong in the measures of government.

The Earl of Northumberland made a motion in the House of Peers with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had deposed. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, since Henry was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partisans. It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such barbarous and sanguinary enemies. Historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion that Sir Piers Exton and others of his guards fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and despatched him with their halberds. But it is more probable that he was starved to death in prison; and, after all sustenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is said, for a fortnight before he reached the end of his miseries. This account is more consistent with the story that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

All the writers who have transmitted to us the history of Richard lived during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes; and candor requires that we should not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he still appears to have been a weak prince and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity than of solid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper, profuse in his expense, fond of idle show and magnificence, devoted to favorites, and addicted to pleasure—passions, all of them, the most inconsistent with a prudent economy, and consequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. Had he possessed the talents of gaining,

⁸⁸ Henry IV. cap. 14.

and still more those of overawing, his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign, and been allowed to carry much farther his oppressions over the people, if he really was guilty of any, without their daring to rebel or even to murmur against him. But when the grandees were tempted, by his want of prudence and of vigor, to resist his authority and execute the most violent enterprises upon him, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation: justice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were sacrificed; and all these enormities seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power than from the insolence of victory, and the necessities of the king's situation. The manners, indeed, of the age were the chief source of such violence: laws which were feebly executed in peaceable times lost all their authority during public convulsions; both parties were alike guilty; or if any difference may be remarked between them, we shall find that the authority of the crown, being more legal, was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Edward and to blame Richard; but the circumstance of opposition surely will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, seems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every Parliament assembled during the reign of Edward remonstrates against the exertion of some arbitrary prerogative or other; we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard till the assembling of his last Parliament, which was summoned by his inveterate enemies, which dethroned him, which framed their complaints during the time of the most furious convulsions, and whose testimony must therefore have, on that account, much less authority with every equitable judge.⁸⁹ Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his Parliament, and to sell some of his prerogatives for present supply; but as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any

⁸⁹ Peruse, in this view, the *Abridgment of the Records*, by Sir Robert Cotton during these two reigns.

exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with regal and sovereign power; the weakness of Richard tempted the Parliament to extort a commission which in a manner dethroned the prince, and transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of these encroachments were also suitable to the character of each. Edward had no sooner gotten the supply than he departed from the engagements which had induced the Parliament to grant it; he openly told his people that he had but *dissembled* with them when he seemed to make them these concessions, and he resumed and retained all his prerogatives. But Richard, because he was detected in consulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulness of restoring the constitution, found his barons immediately in arms against him; was deprived of his liberty; saw his favorites, his ministers, his tutor, butchered before his face or banished and attainted; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contrast between the fortunes of two princes; it were happy for society did this contrast always depend on the justice or injustice of the measures which men embrace, and not rather on the different degrees of prudence and vigor with which those measures are supported.

There was a sensible decay of ecclesiastical authority during this period. The disgust which the laity had received from the numerous usurpations both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy had very much weaned the kingdom from superstition, and strong symptoms appeared, from time to time, of a general desire to shake off the bondage of the Romish Church. In the committee of eighteen, to whom Richard's last Parliament delegated their whole power, there is not the name of one ecclesiastic to be found; a neglect which is almost without example, while the Catholic religion subsisted in England.⁹⁰

The aversion entertained against the Established Church soon found principles and tenets and reasonings by which it could justify and support itself. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of Edward III. to spread the doctrine of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings; and he made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. He seems to have been a man of parts and learning, and has the honor of being the first person in Europe that publicly called in question those principles which had universally passed for cer-

⁹⁰ See note [K] at the end of the volume.

tain and undisputed during so many ages. Wickliffe himself, as well as his disciples, who received the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards, was distinguished by a great austerity of life and manners—a circumstance common to almost all those who dogmatize in any new way, both because men who draw to them the attention of the public and expose themselves to the odium of great multitudes are obliged to be very guarded in their conduct, and because few who have a strong propensity to pleasure or business will enter upon so difficult and laborious an undertaking. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being derived from his search into the Scriptures and into ecclesiastical antiquity, were nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century; he only carried some of them farther than was done by the more sober part of these reformers. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monastic vows; he maintained that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the Church was dependent on the State, and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a nuisance, and ought not to be supported;⁹¹ that the numerous ceremonies of the Church were hurtful to true piety; he asserted that oaths were unlawful, that dominion was founded in grace, that every thing was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men were preordained either to eternal salvation or reprobation.⁹² From the whole of his doctrines, Wickliffe appears to have been strongly tinctured with enthusiasm, and to have been thereby the better qualified to oppose a church whose chief characteristic is superstition.

The propagation of these principles gave great alarm to the clergy; and a bull was issued by Pope Gregory XI. for taking Wickliffe into custody, and examining into the scope of his opinion.⁹³ Courteney, Bishop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who screened him from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickliffe, and he made no scruple, as well as Lord Piercy, the mareschal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial; he even insisted that

⁹¹ Walsing. pp. 191, 208, 283, 284. Spell. Concil. vol. ii. p. 630. Knyghton, p. 2657.

⁹² Harpsfield, pp. 668, 673, 674. Waldens. vol. i. lib. 3, art. 1, cap. 8.

⁹³ Spell. Concil. vol. ii. p. 621. Walsing. pp. 201, 202, 203.

Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence while his principles were examined: Courteney exclaimed against the insult; the Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and mareschal, who escaped from their hands with some difficulty;⁹⁴ and the populace, soon after, broke into the houses of both these noblemen, threatened their persons, and plundered their goods. The Bishop of London had the merit of appeasing their fury and resentment.

The Duke of Lancaster, however, still continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had so far propagated themselves that when the pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated for some time whether they should receive the bull; and they never took any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders.⁹⁵ Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favorable sentiments of this reformer. When he was cited before a synod at Lambeth, they broke into the assembly, and so overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court against them, that they dismissed him without any farther censure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to punish this new heresy, which struck at all their credit, possessions, and authority. But there was hitherto no law in England by which the secular arm was authorized to support orthodoxy; and the ecclesiastics endeavored to supply the defect by an extraordinary and unwarrantable artifice. In the year 1381 there was an act passed requiring sheriffs to apprehend the preachers of heresy and their abettors; but this statute had been surreptitiously obtained by the clergy, and had the formality of an enrolment without the consent of the Commons. In the subsequent session, the Lower House complained of the fraud; affirmed that they had no intention to bind themselves to the prelate farther than their ancestors had done before them; and required that the pretended statute should be repealed, which was done accordingly.⁹⁶ But it is remarkable that, notwithstanding this vigilance of the Commons, the clergy had so much art and influence that the repeal was suppressed; and the act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day upon the statute-book;⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Harpsfield in Hist. Wickl. p. 683.

⁹⁵ Wood's Ant. Oxon. lib. i. p. 191, &c. Walsing. p. 201.

⁹⁶ Cotton's Abridg. p. 285.

⁹⁷ 5 Richard II. cap. 5.

though the clergy still thought proper to keep it in reserve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it.

But besides this defect of power in the Church, which saved Wickliffe, that reformer himself, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and in all subsequent trials before the prelates, he so explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings, as to render it quite innocent and inoffensive.⁹⁸ Most of his followers imitated his cautious disposition, and saved themselves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; and the clergy, mortified that he should have escaped their vengeance, took care, besides assuring the people of his eternal damnation, to represent his last distemper as a visible judgment of Heaven upon him for his multiplied heresies and impieties.⁹⁹

The proselytes, however, of Wickliffe's opinions still increased in England:¹⁰⁰ some monkish writers represent one half of the kingdom as infected by those principles; they were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation who studied at Oxford; but though the age seemed strongly disposed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more curiosity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

Meanwhile the English Parliament continued to check the clergy and the court of Rome by more sober and more legal expedients. They enacted anew the statute of *provisors*, and affixed higher penalties to the transgression of it, which, in some instances, was even made capital.¹⁰¹ The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increased their authority over the prelates: the pope, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depriving them was violent and liable to opposition, attained the same end by transferring such of them as were obnoxious to poorer sees, and even to nominal sees, *in partibus infidelium*. It was thus that the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Chichester, the king's ministers, had been treated after the prevalence of Gloucester's faction; the Bishop of Carlisle met with the same fate after the accession of Henry IV.; for the pope always joined with the prevailing powers when they did not thwart his pretensions. The Parliament,

⁹⁸ Wal. ing. p. 506. Knyghton, pp. 2655, 2656.

⁹⁹ Wal. ing. p. 312. Ypod. Neust. p. 337.

¹⁰¹ 13 Richard II. cap. 3. 16 Richard II. cap. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Knyghton, p. 2663.

in the reign of Richard, enacted a law against this abuse, and the king made a general remonstrance to the court of Rome against all those usurpations which he calls "horrible excesses" of that court.¹⁰²

It was usual for the Church, that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their votaries leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest; the Parliament also stopped the progress of this abuse.¹⁰³ In the 17th of the king, the Commons prayed "that remedy might be had against such religious persons as cause their villains to marry free women inheritable, whereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collusion."¹⁰⁴ This was a new device of the clergy.

The papacy was at this time somewhat weakened by a schism which lasted during forty years, and gave great scandal to the devoted partisans of the holy see. After the pope had resided many years at Avignon, Gregory XI. was persuaded to return to Rome; and upon his death, which happened in 1380, the Romans, resolute to fix for the future the seat of the papacy in Italy, besieged the cardinals in the conclave, and compelled them, though they were mostly Frenchmen, to elect Urban VI., an Italian, into that high dignity. The French cardinals, as soon as they recovered their liberty, fled from Rome, and, protesting against the forced election, chose Robert, son of the Count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and resided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Christendom, according to their several interests and inclinations, were divided between these two pontiffs. The court of France adhered to Clement, and was followed by its allies, the King of Castile and the King of Scotland; England, of course, was thrown into the other party, and declared for Urban. Thus the appellation of Clementines and Urbanists distracted Europe for several years; and each party damned the other as schismatics, and as rebels to the true vicar of Christ. But this circumstance, though it weakened the papal authority, had not so great an effect as might naturally be imagined. Though any king could easily at first make his kingdom embrace the party of one pope or the other, or even keep it some time in suspense between them, he could not so easily transfer his obedience at pleasure; the people attached themselves to their own party as to a religious

¹⁰² Rymer, vol. vii. p. 672.¹⁰³ Knyghton, pp. 27, 38.¹⁰⁴ Cotton, p. 355.

opinion, and conceived an extreme abhorrence to the opposite party, whom they regarded as little better than Saracens or infidels. Crusades were even undertaken in this quarrel; and the zealous Bishop of Norwich, in particular, led over, in 1382, near sixty thousand bigots into Flanders against the Clementines; but, after losing a great part of his followers, he returned with disgrace into England.¹⁰⁵ Each pope, sensible from this prevailing spirit among the people, that the kingdom which once embraced his cause would always adhere to him, boldly maintained all the pretensions of his see, and stood not much more in awe of the temporal sovereigns than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival.

We meet with this preamble to a law enacted at the very beginning of this reign: "Whereas divers persons of small garrison of land or other possessions do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other livery of one suit by year, taking again towards them the value of the same livery, or percase the double value, by such covenant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great mischief and oppression of the people,"¹⁰⁶ &c. This preamble contains a true picture of the state of the kingdom. The laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigilant reign of Edward III., that no subject could trust to their protection. Men openly associated themselves under the patronage of some great baron for their mutual defence. They wore public badges by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself, and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times; hence the small regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public; hence the large discretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might have ensued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had possessed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles assumed and exercised them, there must have ensued an absolute anarchy in the state.

¹⁰⁵ Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 133, 134. Walsing. p. 298, 299, 300, &c. Knyghton, p. 2671.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Richard II. cap. 7.

One great mischief attending these confederacies was the extorting from the king pardons for the most enormous crimes. The Parliament often endeavored, in the last reign, to deprive the prince of this prerogative, but in the present they were content with an abridgment of it. They enacted that no pardon for rapes or for murder from malice pre-pense should be valid unless the crime were particularly specified in it.¹⁰⁷ There were also some other circumstances required for passing any pardon of this kind—an excellent law, but ill observed, like most laws that thwart the manners of the people and the prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these voluntary associations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal system was in a manner dissolved, and that the English had nearly returned, in that particular, to the same situation in which they stood before the Norman conquest. It was, indeed, impossible that that system could long subsist under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is everywhere subject. When the great feudal baronies were first erected, the lord lived in opulence in the midst of his vassals; he was in a situation to protect and cherish and defend them; the quality of patron naturally united itself to that of superior; and these two principles of authority mutually supported each other. But when, by the various divisions and mixtures of property, a man's superior came to live at a distance from him, and could no longer give him shelter or countenance, the tie gradually became more fictitious than real; new connections from vicinity or other causes were formed; protection was sought by voluntary services and attachment; the appearance of valor, spirit, abilities in any great man, extended his interest very far; and if the sovereign were deficient in these qualities, he was no less, if not more, exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy, than even during the vigor of the feudal system.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first peer that was advanced to the House of Lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is also first mentioned in the present reign.

This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than

¹⁰⁷ 13 Richard II. cap. 1.

perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of ten thousand persons: he had three hundred in his kitchen, and all the other offices were furnished in proportion.¹⁰⁸ It must be remarked that this enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expense, according to the mode of that age. Such prodigality was probably the source of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of the public discontents.

¹⁰⁸ Harding : this poet says that he speaks from the authority of a clerk of the green cloth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY IV.

TITLE OF THE KING.—AN INSURRECTION.—AN INSURRECTION IN WALES.—THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS.—BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.—STATE OF SCOTLAND.—PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.

THE English had so long been familiarized to the hereditary succession of their monarchs, the instances of departure from it had always borne such strong symptoms of injustice and violence, and so little of a national choice or election, and the returns to the true line had ever been deemed such fortunate incidents in their history, that Henry was afraid lest, in resting his title on the consent of the people, he should build on a foundation to which the people themselves were not accustomed, and whose solidity they would with difficulty be brought to recognize. The idea, too, of choice seemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the consent upon any supposed violation of them—an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a sovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the subjects, who, lying so much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For these reasons, Henry was determined never to have recourse to this claim, the only one on which his authority could consistently stand; he rather chose to patch up his title in the best manner he could from other pretensions; and, in the end, he left himself, in the eyes of men of sense, no ground of right but his present possession—a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great or prejudice of the people. He had indeed a present advantage over his competitor: the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared in Parliament heir to the crown, was a boy of seven years of age;¹

¹ Dugdale, vol. i. p. 151.

his friends consulted his safety by keeping silence with regard to his title; Henry detained him and his younger brother in honorable custody at Windsor Castle; but he had reason to dread that, in proportion as that nobleman grew to man's estate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud, violence, and injustice by which he had been excluded from the throne. Many favorable topics would occur in his behalf; he was a native of England; possessed an extensive interest from the greatness and alliances of his family; however criminal the deposed monarch, this youth was entirely innocent; he was of the same religion, and educated in the same manners, with the people, and could not be governed by any separate interest; those views would all concur to favor his claim; and though the abilities of the present prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be apprehended that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors.

Henry, in his very first Parliament, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocracy always divided by faction, and at present inflamed with the resentments consequent on such recent convulsions. The Peers, on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the House by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and *liar* and *traitor* resounded from all quarters. The king had so much authority with these doughty champions as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper composure, or to an amicable disposition towards each other.

[1400.] It was not long before these passions broke into action. The Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and Lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the respective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conspiracy, together with the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Lumley, for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor;² but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He suddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor with a body of five hundred horse, found that they had missed this blow, on

² Walsing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 224.

which all the success of their enterprise depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingston-upon-Thames, at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly drawn from the city; and his enemies, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves with a view of raising their followers in the several counties which were the seat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit, and everywhere opposed themselves to their progress. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the citizens, and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the custom of the times.³ The citizens of Bristol treated Spencer and Lumley in the same manner. The Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely, who were also taken prisoners, suffered death, with many others of the conspirators, by orders from Henry. And when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation.

But the spectacle the most shocking to every one who retained any sentiment either of honor or humanity still remained. The Earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of Lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he presented in triumph to Henry, as a testimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was soon after Duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester;⁴ had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trusted; had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprise; and now displayed, in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonor.

Henry was sensible that though the execution of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animosities which remain after such bloody scenes are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprise, those numerous enemies with whom he was everywhere environed. While a subject he was believed to have strongly imbibed all the principles of his father, the Duke of Lancaster, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the Established Church;

³ Walsing. p. 363. *Ypod. Neust.* p. 556.

⁴ Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 171.

but, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought superstition a necessary implement of public authority, and he resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against heresy—an indulgence which had proceeded not from a spirit of toleration in the Romish church, but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king, who was very little scrupulous in his conduct, was easily induced to sacrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favor of the Church by that most effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the Parliament to pass a law for that purpose: it was enacted that when any heretic who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people.⁵ This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy: William Sautré, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the House of Peers; the king issued his writ for the execution;⁶ and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the first instance of that kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to those dismal scenes which at that time were already but too familiar to the people.

But the utmost precaution and prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connections of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover his authority or revenge his death;⁷ but though the confusions in England tempted the French to engage in some enterprise by which they might distress their ancient enemy, the greater confusions which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aside his preparations and renewed

⁵ 2 Henry IV. cap. 7.

⁷ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 123.

⁶ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 178.

the truce between the kingdoms.⁸ The attack of Guienne was also an inviting attempt, which the present factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him, and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change masters.⁹ But the Earl of Worcester, arriving with some English troops, gave countenance to the partisans of Henry and overawed their opponents. Religion, too, was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gascons had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the Pope of Rome; and they were sensible that, if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the Pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration.

The revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald Lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favorable for oppressing his neighbor and taking possession of his estate.¹⁰ Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword;¹¹ Henry sent assistance to Gray;¹² the Welsh took part with Glendour: a troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valor and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country and the untamed spirit of its inhabitants.

As Glendour committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he infested the estate of the Earl of March; and Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family and gave battle to the Welsh chieftain. His troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner.¹³ At the same time the earl himself, who had been allowed to retire to his castle of Wigmore, and who, though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell also into Glen-

⁸ Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 142, 152, 219.

¹⁰ Vita Ric. Sec. pp. 171, 172.

¹² Vita Ric. Sec. pp. 172, 173.

⁹ Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 110, 111.

¹¹ Walsing. p. 364.

¹³ Dugdale, vol. i. p. 150.

dour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales.¹⁴ As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of March, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Piercies, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused to the Earl of Northumberland permission to treat of his ransom with Glendour.

The uncertainty in which Henry's affairs stood during a long time with France, as well as the confusions incident to all great changes in government, tempted the Scots to make incursions into England, and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, summoned at Westminster a council of the Peers, without the Commons, and laid before them the state of his affairs.¹⁵ The military part of the feudal constitution was now much decayed; there remained only so much of that fabric as affected the civil rights and properties of men; and the Peers here undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers.¹⁶ Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown.¹⁷ But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravado, and he disbanded his army.

[1402.] In the subsequent season, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastation on the northern counties. On his return home he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as was Mordac, Earl of Fife, son of the Duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, with the Earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility.¹⁸ When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the Earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as a right by the laws of war received

¹⁴ Dugdale, vol. i. p. 151.

¹⁶ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 125.

¹⁸ Walsing. p. 366. Vita Ric. Sec. p. 180.

¹⁵ Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 125, 126.

¹⁷ Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 155, 156, &c.

Chron. Otterbourne, p. 237.

in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able by their means to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Piercy.

[1403.] The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a favor had merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life,¹⁹ and conferred other gifts on that family, these favors were regarded as their due; the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Piercy and the factious disposition of the Earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour. He gave liberty to the Earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief. He roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader and impatience of the other made them hasten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle, Piercy sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which he pretended the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided

¹⁹ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 89.

him with the perjury of which he had been guilty when, on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the Earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to King Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering, that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession and by declarations of Parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young Earl of March, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permission to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favorable elections into Parliament—arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition.²⁰ This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties. The bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about twelve thousand men, a number which was not unmanageable by the commanders, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood on both sides and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight. His gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself on his father's footsteps; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field.²¹ Piercy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valor which are almost incredible. He seemed determined that the King of England should that day fall by his arm; he sought him all over the field of battle. And as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy

²⁰ Hall, fol. 21, 22, &c.

²¹ T. Livii, p. 3.

upon his person or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence everywhere, had accounted several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honor fatal to many.²² But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, nearly two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's: the Earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gausel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Massey, Sir John Calverley. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two-thirds were of Piercy's army.²³ The Earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. The former was beheaded at Shrewsbury; the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The Earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the Earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York.²⁴ He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the Earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in this dangerous enterprise seems to have perished by the hands of the executioner.²⁵

[1405.] But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he never should be trusted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven by a prince whose situation gave him such reasonable grounds of jealousy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them; they rose in rebellion one after another, and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing singly those insurrections which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The Earl of Nottingham, son of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Archbishop of York, brother to the Earl of Wiltshire, whom

²² Walsing. pp. 366, 367. Hall, fol. 22.

²³ Chron. Otterbourne, p. 224. Ypod. Neust. p. 560.

²⁴ Chron. Otterbourne, p. 225.

²⁵ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 353.

Henry, then Duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Piercy was in the field, still harbored in their breast a violent hatred against the enemy of their families; and they determined, in conjunction with the Earl of Northumberland, to seek revenge against him. They betook themselves to arms before that powerful nobleman was prepared to join them; and publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored and all public grievances be redressed. The Earl of Westmoreland, whose power lay in the neighborhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to subdue them by a stratagem which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He desired a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies; he heard their grievance with great patience; he begged them to propose the remedies; he approved of every expedient which they suggested; he granted them all their demands; he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them that, since amity was now, in effect, restored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces, which otherwise would prove an insupportable burden to the country. The archbishop and the Earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose; their troops disbanded upon the field; but Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to *his* army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress the insurrection.²⁶ The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an opposition to form itself against that unusual measure; the celerity of the execution alone could here render it safe and prudent. Finding that Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed Sir William Fulthorpe for judge, who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced sentence of death upon the prelate, which was presently executed. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop; whence the

²⁶ Walsing, p. 373. Otterbourne, p. 255.

clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than those of laics, were not to pass with impunity. The Earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner; but though many other persons of condition, such as Lord Falconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others seem to have fallen victims to Henry's severity.

The Earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with Lord Bardolf;²⁷ and the king, without opposition, reduced all the castles and fortresses belonging to these noblemen. He thence turned his arms against Glendour, over whom his son, the Prince of Wales, had obtained some advantages; but that enemy, more troublesome than dangerous, still found means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of eluding, though not resisting, all the force of England. [1407.] In a subsequent season, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north, in hopes of raising the people to arms, but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, levied some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain.²⁸ This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by such unjustifiable means and held it by such an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valor, prudence, and address, accustomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater ascendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not supported by these active qualities, was ever able to confer.

About the same time, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbor who, by his situation, was most enabled to disturb his government. Robert III., King of Scots, was a prince, though of slender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct; but Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing, or even enduring, sovereigns of that character. The Duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and, not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family.

²⁷ Walsing. p. 374.

²⁸ Walsing. p. 377. Chron. Otterbourne, p. 261.

He threw into prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger; James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and King Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France and intrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately the vessel was taken by the English; Prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there subsisted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune; and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the Duke of Albany.²⁹ Henry was now more sensible than ever of the importance of the acquisition which he had made: while he retained such a pledge, he was sure of keeping the Duke of Albany in dependence; or, if offended, he could easily, by restoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the usurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The hostile dispositions which of late had prevailed between France and England were restrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing in action. The jealousies and civil commotions with which both nations were disturbed kept each of them from taking advantage of the unhappy situation of its neighbor. But as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had sooner been able to compose the English factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to look abroad, and to foment the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted. He knew that one great source of the national discontent against his predecessor was the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new direction to the restless and unquiet spirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domestic wars and disorders. [1411.] That he might unite policy with force, he first entered into treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, which supported him against his enemies.³⁰ Soon after, he

²⁹ Buchanan, lib. 10.

³⁰ Walsing. p. 380.

hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the Duke of Orleans, and despatched a greater body to support that party.³¹ [1412.] But the leaders of the opposite factions having made a temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were sacrificed; and this effort of Henry proved, in the issue, entirely vain and fruitless. The declining state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate son carried to so great a length against the French monarchy.

Such were the military and foreign transactions of this reign; the civil and parliamentary are somewhat more memorable, and more worthy of our attention. During the two last reigns, the elections of the Commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of using unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partisans a seat in that House. This practice formed one considerable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to tread in his footsteps, and to encourage the same abuses in elections. Laws were enacted against such undue influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made;³² but laws were commonly, at that time, very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, such as they were, stood on a surer basis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the House of Commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the aristocracy, and though that house might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either, the general institutions of the state still remained invariable; the interests of the several members continued on the same footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign the king was obliged to court popularity; and the House of Commons, sensible of their own importance, began to assume powers which had not usually been exercised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry they procured a law that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of

³¹ Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 715, 738.

³² Cotton, p. 429.

his own life from the menaces of the sovereign.³³ In the second year they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions; which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince.³⁴ In the fifth year they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which these men had committed, yet, in order to gratify them, complied with their request.³⁵ In the sixth year they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the House.³⁶ In the eighth year they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them.³⁷ The abridger of the records remarks the unusual liberties taken by the speaker and the House during this period.³⁸ But the great authority of the Commons was but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation. In a subsequent Parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domestic difficulties, plainly told him that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But on the whole, the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained, by Henry than by any of his predecessors.

During this reign, when the House of Commons were, at any time, brought to make unwary concessions to the crown, they also showed their freedom by a speedy retraction of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their names to be once mentioned in Parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the Earl of March king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refused him, an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman; because he knew that such a declaration, in the present circumstances, would have no authority, and would only serve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title

³³ Cotton, p. 364.

³⁶ Cotton, p. 458.

³⁴ Cotton, p. 406.

³⁷ Cotton, pp. 456, 457

³⁵ Cotton, p. 426.

³⁸ Cotton, p. 462.

in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful and covert manner. He procured a settlement of the crown upon himself and his heirs male;³⁹ thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the English government. He thought that, though the house of Plantagenet had at first derived their title from a female, this was a remote event, unknown to the generality of the people; and if he could once accustom them to the practice of excluding women, the title of the Earl of March would gradually be forgotten and neglected by them. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long contests with France, the injustice of the Salic law had been so much exclaimed against by the nation that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men; and it was now become impossible to eradicate it. The same House of Commons, therefore, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family.⁴⁰ A certain proof that nobody was in his heart satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.

But though the Commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown, their efforts against the Church were still more extraordinary, and seemed to anticipate very much the spirit which became so general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know that the credit of these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian;⁴¹ but that historian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the interests of his order to preserve the memory of such transactions, much more to forge precedents, which posterity might, some time, be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident that the most likely way of accounting for the silence of the records on this head is by supposing that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a rasure, with regard to these circumstances, which the indiscretion of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

In the sixth of Henry, the Commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed in plain terms to the king

³⁹ Cotton, p. 454.⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 462.⁴¹ Walsingham.

that he should seize all the temporalities of the Church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. They insisted that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves, who stayed at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the Church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute; the king discouraged the application of the Commons; and the Lords rejected the bill which the Lower House had framed for stripping the Church of her revenues.⁴²

The Commons were not discouraged by this repulse; in the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before; they made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred eighty-five thousand marks a year, and contained eighteen thousand four hundred ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and a hundred hospitals; besides twenty thousand pounds a year, which the king might take for his own use; and they insisted that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present by fifteen thousand parish priests, paid at the rate of seven marks apiece of yearly stipend.⁴³ This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards; which shows from what source the address came. The king gave the Commons a severe reply; and farther to satisfy the Church, and to prove that he was quite in earnest, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the dissolution of the Parliament.⁴⁴

[1413.] We have now related almost all the memorable transactions of this reign, which was busy and active, but produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. The king was so much employed in defending his

⁴² Walsing. p. 371. Ypod. Neust. p. 563. ⁴³ Walsing. p. 379. Tit. Livius.

⁴⁴ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 627. Otterbourne, p. 267.

crown, which he had obtained by unwarrantable means, and possessed by a bad title, that he had little leisure to look abroad, or perform any action which might redound to the honor or advantage of the nation. His health declined some months before his death: he was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster, in the forty-sixth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign.

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had so much aided him in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost many years before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion against his prince; the deposition of a lawful king, guilty sometimes, perhaps, of oppression, but more frequently of indiscretion; the exclusion of the true heir; the murder of his sovereign and near relation—these were such enormities as drew on him the hatred of his subjects, sanctified all the rebellions against him, and made the executions, though not remarkably severe, which he found necessary for the maintenance of his authority, appear cruel as well as iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologize for these crimes, which must ever be held in detestation, it may be remarked that he was insensibly led into this blamable conduct by a train of incidents which few men possess virtue enough to withstand. The injustice with which his predecessor had treated him, in first condemning him to banishment, then despoiling him of his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his lost rights; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own security, as well as his ambition, made him an usurper; and the steps have always been so few between the prisons of princes and their graves that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All these considerations make Henry's situation, if he retained any sense of virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the remorse by which, it is said, he was continually haunted, rendered him an object of our pity even when seated upon the throne. But it must be owned that his prudence and vigilance and foresight, in

maintaining his power, were admirable; his command of temper remarkable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after times, rather salutary during his own reign to the English nation.

Henry was twice married. By his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Hereford, he had four sons: Henry, his successor in the throne; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa—the former married to the Duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the King of Navarre and widow of the Duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

By an act of the fifth of this reign it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue or put out his eyes—crimes which, the act says, were very frequent. This savage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though, perhaps, it was increased by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

Commerce was very little understood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealousy prevailed against *merchant strangers*, and many restraints were, by law, imposed upon them; namely, that they should lay out in English manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the sale of their goods; that they should not buy or sell with one another, and that all their goods should be disposed of three months after importation.⁴⁵ This last clause was found so inconvenient that it was soon after repealed by Parliament.

It appears that the expense of this king's household amounted to the yearly sum of nineteen thousand five hundred pounds, money of that age.⁴⁶

Guicciardini tells us that the Flemings, in this century, learned from Italy all the refinements in arts, which they taught the rest of Europe. The progress, however, of the arts was still very slow and backward in England.

⁴⁵ 4 Henry IV. cap. 15. and 5 Henry IV. cap. 9.

⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. viii. p. 610.

CHAPTER XIX.

HENRY V.

THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS.—HIS REFORMATION.—THE LOLLARDS.—PUNISHMENT OF LORD COBHAM.—STATE OF FRANCE.—INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM.—BATTLE OF AZINCOUR.—STATE OF FRANCE.—NEW INVASION OF FRANCE.—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—TREATY OF TROYE.—MARRIAGE OF THE KING.—HIS DEATH—AND CHARACTER.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

THE many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation naturally exposed him had so infected his temper that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and during the latter years of his life he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagances of every kind; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humor, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many sallies which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these defenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreeable to his father as that eager application to business which

had at first given him occasion of jealousy ; and he saw in his son's behavior the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in general, considered the young prince with more indulgence ; and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character that they never ceased hoping for his amendment ; and they ascribed all the weeds which shot up in that rich soil to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his ministers. There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occasion for favorable reflections to all men of sense and candor. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders ; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal ; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behavior.¹ The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career.

The memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favor.² He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence ; and he then dismissed them with liberal presents.³ The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been

¹ Hall, fol. 33.

² Walsing. p. 382.

³ Hall, fol. 33. Hollingshed, p. 543. Godwin's Life of Henry V. p. 1.

paying the highest court to him ; and were received with all the marks of favor and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behavior augmented their satisfaction ; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and cherished all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attachment towards him.⁴ Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealousy of his father had imposed on the Earl of March, he received that young nobleman with singular courtesy and favor, and, by this magnanimity, so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him, and gave him no disturbance in his future government. The family of Piercy was restored to its fortune and honors.⁵ The king seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion ; the instruments of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for their Lancastrian interests more than from their merits, gave place everywhere to men of more honorable characters ; virtue seemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself ; the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement ; all men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry ; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

There remained among the people only one party distinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar and commonly a very obstinate nature, the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the Church, and even formidable to the civil

⁴ Hist. Croyland, contin. Hall, fol. 34. Hollingshed, p. 544.

⁵ Hollingshed, p. 545.

authority.⁶ The enthusiasm by which these sectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expressed against the established hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry, who, either from a sincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from a dread of the unknown consequences which attend all important changes, was determined to execute the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valor and his military talents, and had, on many occasions, acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king.⁷ His high character and his zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity, whose punishment would strike a terror into the whole party, and teach them that they must expect no mercy under the present administration. He applied to Henry for a permission to indict Lord Cobham;⁸ but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; that all gentle means ought first to be tried in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himself would endeavor, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the Catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of such infinite moment to his complaisance for sovereigns.⁹ Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to ecclesiastical severity against the inflexible heresiarch. The primate indicted Cobham, and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprises; and his unlimited authority over the new sect proved that he well merited the attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent designs against his enemies; and, despatching his emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to seize

⁶ Walsing. p. 382.⁷ Ibid.⁸ Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 513.⁹ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 61. Walsing. p. 383.

the person of the king at Eltham and put their persecutors to the sword.¹⁰ Henry, apprised of their intention, removed to Westminster. [1414.] Cobham was not discouraged by this disappointment, but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's. The king, having shut the gates of the city to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night-time, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of the several parties who were hastening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy; the rest implicitly followed their leaders; but upon the trial of the prisoners, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence and from the confession of the criminals themselves.¹¹ Some were executed; the greater number pardoned.¹² Cobham himself, who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic.¹³ This criminal design, which was perhaps somewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought discredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wickliffe, and at the same time aspired to a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses.

These two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree by both of them. Common-sense and obvious reflection had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those abstruse doctrines which the Lollards endeavored to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people; innovation in fundamental principles was suspicious; curiosity was not, as yet, a sufficient counterpoise to authority; and even many who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which they feared threw disgrace on so good a cause. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the Parliament which was summoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy.

¹⁰ Walsing. p. 385. ¹¹ Cotton, p. 554. Hall, fol. 35. Hollingshed, p. 544.

¹² Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 119, 129, 193.

¹³ Walsing. p. 400. Otterbourne, p. 280. Hollingshed, p. 561.

That assembly passed severe laws against the new heretics. They enacted that whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment, according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavors for the extirpation of heresy.¹⁴ Yet this very Parliament, when the king demanded a supply, renewed the offer formerly pressed upon his father, and entreated him to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues and convert them to the use of the crown.¹⁵ The clergy were alarmed; they could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent; they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien which depended on capital abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to these abbeys when that province remained united to England; and Chicheley, now Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavored to divert the blow by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France in order to recover his lost rights to that kingdom.¹⁶

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his son not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honor; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person, and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

[1415.] The death of Charles V., which followed soon after that of Edward III., and the youth of his son, Charles VI., put the two kingdoms for some time in a similar situation; and it was not to be apprehended that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies, also, between Charles's three uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterprise against foreign states. But in

¹⁴ 2 Henry V. cap. 7.

¹⁵ Hall, fol. 35.

¹⁶ Hall, fol. 35, 36.

proportion as Charles advanced in years, the factions were composed; his two uncles, the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died; and the king himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration. The unhappy prince fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses that his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be pursued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis, Duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John, Duke of Burgundy. The propinquity to the crown pleaded in favor of the former. The latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a lustre from his superior power. The people were divided between these contending princes; and the king, now resuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

At length the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy seemed to be moved by the cries of the nation, and, by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into strict amity. They swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed sacred among men. But all this solemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the Duke of Burgundy. He procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris. He endeavored for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime; but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal and more dangerous to society, by openly avowing and justifying it.¹⁷ The Parliament itself of Paris, the tribunal of justice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that assembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no sentence of condemnation against this detestable doctrine.¹⁸ The same

¹⁷ Le Laboureur, liv. xxvii. chap. 23, 24.

¹⁸ Le Laboureur, liv. xxvii. chap. 27. Monstrelet, chap. 39.

question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision in favor of the contrary opinion was procured from these fathers of the Church, the ministers of peace and of religion. But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the present incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young Duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the Duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations; assassinations were everywhere committed from the animosity of the several leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs—so the adherents of the young Duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace; their faithful ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honor.

During this scene of general violence there rose into some consideration a body of men which usually makes no figure in public transactions, even during the most peaceful times; and that was the University of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism by which the Church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connection between literature and superstition had bestowed on the former a weight to which reason and knowledge are not, of themselves, anywise entitled among men. But there was another society whose sentiments were

much more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers, who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the Duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

The advantage which might be made of these confusions was easily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favorable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel by alternately sending assistance to each; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigor of youth and the ardor of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. But while he was making preparations for this end, he tried to effect his purpose by negotiation; and he sent over ambassadors to Paris offering a perpetual peace and alliance, but demanding Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million six hundred thousand as the arrears of King John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus; together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders.¹⁹ Such exorbitant demands show that he was sensible of the present miserable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, discovered their consciousness of the same melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns, to resign the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories.²⁰ As Henry rejected these conditions, and scarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment

¹⁹ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 208.

²⁰ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 211. It is reported by some historians (see *Hist. Croyl.* cont. p. 500) that the dauphin, in derision of Henry's claims and dissolute character, sent him a box of tennis-balls, intimating that these implements of play were better adapted to him than the instruments of war. But this story is by no means credible: the great offers made by the court of France show that they had already entertained a just idea of Henry's character, as well as of their own situation.

his preparations for war; and having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conquest, he came to the seaside with a purpose of embarking on his expedition.

But while Henry was meditating conquests upon his neighbors, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The Earl of Cambridge, second son of the late Duke of York, having espoused the sister of the Earl of March, had zealously embraced the interests of that family, and had held some conferences with Lord Scrope, of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conspirators, as soon as detected, acknowledged their guilt to the king;²¹ and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. The utmost that could be expected of the best king, in those ages, was that he would so far observe the essentials of justice as not to make an innocent person a victim to his severity. But as to the formalities of law, which are often as material as the essentials themselves, they were sacrificed without scruple to the least interest or convenience. A jury of commoners was summoned; the three conspirators were indicted before them; the constable of Southampton castle swore that they had separately confessed their guilt to him. Without other evidence, Sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed. But as the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to summon a court of eighteen barons, in which the Duke of Clarence presided. The evidence given before the jury was read to them. The prisoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence, but received sentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unsatisfactory; and the sentence was soon after executed. The Earl of March was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy, and received a general pardon from the king.²² He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to him, or had made reparation by his early repentance and discovery.²³

The successes which the arms of England have, in differ-

²¹ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 300. T. Li-ii, p. 8.

²² Rymer, vol. ix. p. 303.

St. Remi, chap. 55. Goodwin, p. 65.

ent ages, obtained over those of France have been much owing to the favorable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbors, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favor their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it proportionable success. The Duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England; ²⁴ and Henry knew that this prince, though he scrupled at first to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he saw any probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects and draw over to the same side all his numerous partisans in France. Trusting, therefore, to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the duke, he put to sea and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by D'Estouteville, and under him by De Guitri, De Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility. But, as the garrison was weak and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place if he received no succor before the eighteenth of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of the French army to relieve him. Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English.

The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army that Henry could enter on no farther enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts; and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army of fourteen thousand men at arms and forty thousand foot was by this time assembled in Normandy, under the constable D'Albret—a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the Eng-

²⁴ Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 137, 138.

lish in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valor and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy.²⁵ That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys²⁶ till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague, the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank;²⁷ and he was obliged to march higher up the river in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side ready to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation, when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quentin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army.²⁸

Henry then bent his march northwards to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle upon which his safety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and they labored under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and that of the Black Prince

²⁵ Le Laboureur, liv. xxxv. chap. 6.

²⁶ T. Livii, p. 12.

²⁷ St. Remi, chap. 58.

²⁸ T. Livii, p. 13.

at Poitiers ; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank, and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.²⁹

Had the French constable been able either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity, obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valor of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist.³⁰ The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry ; the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks ; the narrow compass in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order ; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay ; and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence ; they hewed them in pieces without resistance,³¹ and being seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners ; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time they heard an alarm from behind : some gentlemen of

²⁹ St. Remi, chap. 62.

³⁰ Walsing. p. 392. T. Livli, p. 19. Le Laboureur, liv. xxxv. chap. 7. Monstrelet, chap. 147.

³¹ Walsing. p. 393 Ypod. Neust. p. 584.

Picardy, having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.

No battle was ever more fatal to France by the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the Constable himself, the Count of Nevers and the Duke of Brabant, brothers to the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Alençon, the Duke of Barre, the Count of Marle. The most eminent prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and the Mareschal of Boucicaut. An archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners. The person of chief note who fell among the English was the Duke of York, who perished fighting by the king's side, and had an end more honorable than his life. He was succeeded in his honors and fortune by his nephew, son of the Earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain exceeded not forty; though some writers, with greater probability, make the number more considerable.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincour bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, without any object of moment, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no retreat, and, unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable, there appears, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution, on the part of the English; the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the

French; and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences, too, of these three great victories were similar: instead of pushing the French with vigor, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interruptions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions which, without any settled plan, they carried on against each other. The lustre, however, attending the victory of Azincour procured some supplies from the English Parliament, though still unequal to the expenses of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of movables; and they conferred on him, *for life*, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his last Parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition, made so great an article of charge against him.

But during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war, and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The Duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the misfortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to reinstate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partisans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in subjection. The duke despaired of success; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately disbanded in the Low Countries.³² He was soon after invited to make a new attempt, by some violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen, Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the

³² Le Laboureur, liv. xxxv. chap. 10.

other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never able to forgive. The public necessities obliged the Count of Armagnac (created Constable of France in the place of D'Albret) to seize the great treasures which Isabella had amassed; and, when she expressed her displeasure at this injury, he inspired into the weak mind of the king some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Bois-Bourdon, her favorite, whom he accused of a commerce of gallantry with that princess. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard;³³ and, after suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy. As her son, the Dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose effectual. The Duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army. He made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre declared themselves of his party.³⁴ He got possession of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, Meulant, Montlheri, towns in the neighborhood of Paris; and carrying farther his progress towards the west, he seized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses, and was at last able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye and openly declared against those ministers who, she said, detained her husband in captivity.³⁵

Meanwhile the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so impetuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his escape with difficulty; great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered; the count himself and many persons of note were thrown into prison; murders were daily committed from private animosity, under pretence of faction; and the populace, not satiated with their fury, and deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons and put to death the Count of

³³ St. Remi, chap. 74. Monstrelet, chap. 167.

³⁴ St. Remi, chap. 79. ³⁵ St. Remi, chap. 81. Monstrelet, chap. 178, 179.

Armagnac and all the other nobility who were there confined.³⁶

While France was in such furious combustion, and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected some treasure and levied an army, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. [1418.] He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; Ponte de l'Arche opened its gates; and Henry having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from England,³⁷ formed the siege of Rouën, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants to the number of fifteen thousand.³⁸ The Cardinal des Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions; but the king replied to him in such terms as showed that he was fully sensible of all his present advantages. "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me thither as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom; everything is here in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"³⁹

But though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he still continued to negotiate with his enemies, and endeavored to obtain more secure, though less considerable, advantages. He made, at the same time, offers of peace to both parties: to the queen and Duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority;⁴⁰ and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country.⁴¹ These two parties also carried on a continual negotiation with each other. The terms proposed on all sides were perpetually varying; the events of the war and the intrigues of the cabinet intermingled with each other; and the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty. After many negotiations, Henry offered the queen and the Duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the Princess Catherine, and to accept

³⁶ St. Remi, chap. 85, 86. Monstrelet, chap. 118.

³⁸ St. Remi, chap. 91.

⁴⁰ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 717,

³⁷ Walsing. p. 400.

³⁹ Juvenal, des Ursins.

⁴¹ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 626, &c.

of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty.⁴² [1419.] These terms were submitted to; there remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty; but in this interval the Duke of Burgundy secretly finished his treaty with the dauphin, and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during King Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies.⁴³

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, proved, in the issue, the most favorable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements is uncertain; but very fatal effects resulted from their momentary and seeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this conference it seemed somewhat difficult to contrive. The assassination perpetrated by the Duke of Burgundy, and still more his open avowal of the deed and defence of the doctrine, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society; and even men of honor, who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favorable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect, any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security which were proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montereau; the duke lodged in the castle, the dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne; the bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview; two high rails were drawn across the bridge; the gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke; the princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons, and, with all these marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship. But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honor are utterly abandoned. Tannegui de Chatel and others of the dauphin's retainers had been zealous partisans of the late Duke of Orleans; and they determined to seize

⁴² Rymer, vol. ix. p. 762.

⁴³ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 776. St. Remi, chap. 95.

the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that prince. They no sooner entered the rails than they drew their swords and attacked the Duke of Burgundy; his friends were astonished, and thought not of making any defence: and all of them either shared his fate or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the dauphin.⁴⁴

The extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the secret of the conspiracy; but as the deed was committed under his eye by his most intimate friends, who still retained their connections with him, the blame of the action, which was certainly more imprudent than criminal, fell entirely upon him. The whole state of affairs was everywhere changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, passionately devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the highest fury against the dauphin. The court of King Charles entered from interest into the same views; and as all the ministers of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foresaw their downfall if the dauphin should recover possession of his father's person, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the success of his enterprise. The queen, persevering in her unnatural animosity against her son, increased the general flame, and inspired into the king, as far as he was susceptible of any sentiment, the same prejudices by which she herself had long been actuated. But, above all, Philip, Count of Charolois, now Duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound, by every tie of honor and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassin to the utmost extremity. And in this general transport of rage every consideration of national and family interest was buried in oblivion by all parties: the subjection to a foreign enemy, the expulsion of the lawful heir, the slavery of the kingdom, appeared but small evils if they led to the gratification of the present passion.

The King of England had, before the death of the Duke of Burgundy, profited extremely by the distractions of France, and was daily making a considerable progress in Normandy. He had taken Rouën after an obstinate siege;⁴⁵ he had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors; he even threatened Paris, and, by the terror of his arms, had obliged the court to remove to Troye; [1420.] and in the midst of his successes he was agreeably surprised to find his enemies,

⁴⁴ St. Remi, chap. 97. Monstrelet, chap. 211.

⁴⁵ T. Livii, p. 69. Monstrelet, chap. 201.

instead of combining against him for their mutual defence, disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the Duke of Burgundy. This prince, without stipulating anything for himself except the prosecution of his father's murderer and the marriage of the Duke of Bedford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and was there met by the Duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing any thing but through the eyes of those who attended him, as they, on their part, saw every thing through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, and signed and ratified; Henry's will seemed to be a law throughout the whole negotiation; nothing was attended to but his advantages.

The principal articles of the treaty were that Henry should espouse the Princess Catherine; that King Charles, during his lifetime, should enjoy the title and dignity of King of France; that Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should forever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.⁴⁶

Such was the tenor of this famous treaty—a treaty which, as nothing but the most violent animosity could dictate it, so nothing but the power of the sword could carry into execution. It is hard to say whether its consequences, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England

⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 895. St. Remi, chap. 101. Monstrelet, chap. 223.

or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province; it would have entirely disjointed the succession of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family, as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable to that of the English princes, would, on that account, have been exposed to perpetual jealousy and persecution from the sovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim which no art could palliate. For, besides the insuperable objections to which Edward III.'s pretensions were exposed, *he* was not heir to that monarch; if female succession were admitted, the right had devolved on the House of Mortimer; allowing that Richard II. was a tyrant, and that Henry IV.'s merits in deposing him were so great towards the English as to justify that nation in placing him on the throne, Richard had nowise offended France, and his rival had merited nothing of that kingdom; it could not possibly be pretended that the crown of France was become an appendage to that of England, and that a prince who by any means got possession of the latter was, without farther question, entitled to the former. So that, on the whole, it must be allowed that Henry's claim to France was, if possible, still more unintelligible than the title by which his father had mounted the throne of England.

But though all these considerations were overlooked amidst the hurry of passion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to push his present advantages, and allow men no leisure for reason or reflection. In a few days after he espoused the Princess Catherine; he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital; he obtained from the Parliament and the three estates a ratification of the treaty of Troye; he supported the Duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father; and he immediately turned his arms with success against the adherents of the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title.

The first place that Henry subdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a slight resistance. With the same facility he made himself master of Montereau. The de-

fence of Melun was more obstinate; Barbasan, the governor, held out for the space of four months against the besiegers, and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the garrison except such as were accomplices in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy; and as Barbasan himself was suspected to be of the number, his punishment was demanded by Philip; but the king had the generosity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution.⁴⁷

[1421.] The necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged Henry to go over to England; and he left the Duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his absence. The authority which naturally attends success procured from the English Parliament a subsidy of a fifteenth; but if we may judge by the scantiness of the supply, the nation was nowise sanguine on their king's victories; and in proportion as the prospect of their union with France became nearer, they began to open their eyes, and to see the dangerous consequences with which that event must necessarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry that he had other resources besides pecuniary supplies from his native subjects. The provinces which he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his standard all men of ambitious spirits in England who desired to signalize themselves by arms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thousand archers and four thousand horsemen,⁴⁸ and marched them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Everything had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the Duke of Exeter; but there had happened, in another quarter of the kingdom, a misfortune which hastened the king's embarkation.

The detention of the young King of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry, and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preserved, during the whole course of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progress made by Henry, and the near prospect of his succession to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foresaw their own inevitable ruin if the subjection of their ally left them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already so much superior in power and riches. The regent entered into the same views; and though he declined an open rupture with England, he permitted a body of seven

⁴⁷ Hollingshed, p. 577.

⁴⁸ Monstrelet, chap. 242.

thousand Scotch, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, his second son, to be transported into France for the service of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the King of Scots, whom he obliged to send orders to his countrymen to leave the French service; but the Scottish general replied that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince while in the hands of his enemy was nowise entitled to authority. These troops, therefore, continued still to act under the Earl of Buchan, and were employed by the dauphin to oppose the progress of the Duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Baugé: the English were defeated; the duke himself was slain by Sir Allen Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms; and the Earls of Somerset,⁴⁹ Dorset, and Huntingdon were taken prisoners.⁵⁰ This was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his service and reward the valor and conduct of the Earl of Buchan, honored that nobleman with the office of constable.

But the arrival of the King of England with so considerable an army was more than sufficient to repair this loss. Henry was received at Paris with great expressions of joy, so obstinate were the prejudices of the people; and he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been besieged by the dauphin. That prince raised the siege on the approach of the English, and, being resolved to decline a battle, he retired with his army.⁵¹ Henry made himself master of Dreux without a blow; he laid siege to Meaux at the solicitation of the Parisians, who were much incommoded by the garrison of that place. This enterprise employed the English arms during the space of eight months; the bastard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, distinguished himself by an obstinate defence, but was at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery: he was accustomed to hang, without distinction, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands; and Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered

⁴⁹ His name was John, and he was afterwards created Duke of Somerset. He was grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The Earl of Dorset was brother to Somerset, and succeeded him in that title.

⁵⁰ St Remi, chap. 110. Monstrelet, chap. 239. Hall, fol. 76.

⁵¹ St. Remi, chap. 3.

him immediately to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.⁵²

This success was followed by the surrender of many other places in the neighborhood of Paris which held for the dauphin; that prince was chased beyond the Loire, and he almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces; he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. Notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his captains, he saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field, and found it necessary to temporize, and to avoid all hazardous actions, with a rival who had gained so much the ascendant over him. And to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous and no less sincere at Paris than at London. The infant prince seemed to be universally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies.

[1422.] But the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the summit, was stopped short by the hand of nature, and all his mighty projects vanished into smoke. He was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons at that time had not skill enough to cure; and he was at last sensible that his distemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching. He sent for his brother the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, whom he had honored with his friendship, and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue towards his infant son the same fidelity and attachment which they had always professed to himself during his lifetime, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He expressed his indifference on the approach of death; and though he regretted that he must leave unfinished a work so happily begun, he declared himself confident that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valor. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the Duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the Earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy; and advised them

⁵² Rymer, vol. x. p. 212. T. Livii, pp. 92, 93. St. Remi, chap. 116. Monstrelet, chap. 260.

never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Azincour till his son were of age, and could himself hold the reins of government. And he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never, at least, to make peace with that kingdom unless the enemy, by the cession of Normandy and its annexation to the crown of England, made compensation for all the hazard and expense of his enterprise.⁵³

He next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm was read, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his serious intention, after he should have fully subdued France, to conduct a crusade against the infidels and recover possession of the Holy Land.⁵⁴ So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in those moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition, and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprises was now past, he certainly would never have carried into execution. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field; the boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valor in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The English, dazzled by the lustre of his character still more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title; the French almost forgot that he was an enemy; and his care in maintaining justice in his civil administration, and preserving discipline in his armies, made some amends to both nations for the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short reign was almost entirely occupied. That he could forgive the Earl of March, who had a better title to the crown than himself, is a sure indication of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied so entirely on his friendship is no less a proof of his established character for candor and sincerity. There remain in history few instances of such mutual trust, and still fewer where neither party found reason to repent it.

⁵³ Monstrelet, chap. 265. Hall, fol. 80.

⁵⁴ St. Remi, chap. 118. Monstrelet, chap. 265.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigor; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises.⁵⁵ He left, by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son, not full nine months old, whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

In less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for several years, possessed only the appearance of royal authority; yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English, and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned King of France at Poitiers, by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is usually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country; she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created Earl of Richmond, the second Earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The long schism which had divided the Latin Church for near forty years was finally terminated in this reign by the council of Constance, which deposed the pope, John XXIII., for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place, who was acknowledged by almost all the kingdoms of Europe. This great and unusual act of authority in the council gave the Roman pontiffs ever after a mortal antipathy to those assemblies. The same jealousy which had long prevailed in most European countries between the civil aristocracy and monarchy now also took place between these powers in the ecclesiastical body. But the great separation of the bishops in the several states, and the difficulty of assembling them, gave the pope a mighty advantage, and made it more easy for him to centre all the powers of the hierarchy in his own person. The cruelty and treachery which attended the punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the unhappy disciples of Wickliffe, who, in violation of a safe-conduct, were burned alive for their errors by the council of

⁵⁵ T. Livii, p. 4.

Constance, prove this melancholy truth, that toleration is none of the virtues of priests in any form of ecclesiastical government. But as the English nation had little or no concern in these transactions, we are here the more concise in relating them.

The first commission of array which we meet with was issued in this reign.⁵⁶ The military part of the feudal system, which was the most essential circumstance of it, was entirely dissolved, and could no longer serve for the defence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, empowered certain commissioners to take in each county a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. This was the era when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was, perhaps, still less orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts only to fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds, ten shillings, and tenpence a year.⁵⁷ This is nearly the same with the revenue of Henry III., and the kings of England had neither become much richer nor poorer in the course of so many years. The ordinary expense of the government amounted to forty-two thousand five hundred and seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and tenpence; so that the king had a surplus only of thirteen thousand two hundred and six pounds, fourteen shillings, for the support of his household, for his wardrobe, for the expense of embassies, and other articles. This sum was nowise sufficient; he was therefore obliged to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expense, which neither the prince's ordinary revenue nor the extraordinary supplies were able to bear; and the sovereign was always reduced to many miserable shifts in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and sometimes the crown itself;⁵⁸ he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy. The high pay which was given to soldiers agreed very ill with this low

⁵⁶ Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 254, 255.

⁵⁸ Rymer, vol. x. p. 190.

⁵⁷ Rymer, vol. x. p. 113.

income. All the extraordinary supplies granted by Parliament to Henry during the course of his reign were only seven tenths and fifteenths, about two hundred and three thousand pounds.⁵⁹ It is easy to compute how soon this money must be exhausted by armies of twenty-four thousand archers and six thousand horse, when each archer had sixpence a day,⁶⁰ and each horseman two shillings. The most splendid successes proved commonly fruitless when supported by so poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred made him pay dear for his victories. The civil administration likewise, even in time of peace, could never be very regular where the government was so ill enabled to support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when Prince of Wales.⁶¹ It was in vain that the Parliament pretended to restrain him from arbitrary practices, when he was reduced to such necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the great charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the Commons, it was found absolutely impracticable to abolish it; and the Parliament at length, submitting to it as a legal prerogative, contented themselves with enacting laws to limit and confine it. The Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Richard II., possessed a revenue of sixty thousand crowns (about thirty thousand pounds a year of our present money), as we learn from Froissart,⁶² and was, consequently, richer than the king himself, if all circumstances be duly considered.

It is remarkable that the city of Calais alone was an annual expense to the crown of nineteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds;⁶³ that is, above one third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortress was of no use to the defence of England, and only gave that kingdom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland cost two thousand pounds a year over and above its own revenue, which was certainly very low. Every thing conspires to give us a very mean idea of the state of Europe in those ages.

From the most early times till the reign of Edward III. the denomination of money had never been altered; a pound sterling was still a pound troy; that is, about three pounds

⁵⁹ Parliamentary History, vol. ii. p. 168.

⁶⁰ It appears from many passages of Rymer, particularly vol. ix. p. 258, that the king paid twenty marks a year for an archer, which is a good deal above sixpence a day. The price had risen, as is natural, by raising the denomination of money.

⁶¹ Rymer, vol. x. p. 114.

⁶² Liv. iv. chap. 86.

⁶³ Rymer, vol. x. p. 113.

of our present money. That conqueror was the first that innovated in this important article. In the twentieth of his reign he coined twenty-two shillings from a pound troy; in his twenty-seventh year he coined twenty-five shillings. But Henry V., who was also a conqueror, raised still farther the denomination, and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy;⁶⁴ his revenue, therefore, must have been about one hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money, and, by the cheapness of provisions, was equivalent to above three hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of Parliament; their doubtful or bad title became so far of advantage to the constitution. The rule was then fixed, and could not safely be broken afterwards even by more absolute princes.

⁶⁴ Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 52.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY VI.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY.—STATE OF FRANCE.—
 MILITARY OPERATIONS.—BATTLE OF VERNEUIL.—SIEGE
 OF ORLEANS.—THE MAID OF ORLEANS.—THE SIEGE OF
 ORLEANS RAISED.—THE KING OF FRANCE CROWNED AT
 RHEIMS.—PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—EXECU-
 TION OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS.—DEFECTION OF THE DUKE
 OF BURGUNDY.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—DE-
 CLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE.—TRUCE WITH FRANCE.
 —MARRIAGE OF THE KING WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU.—
 MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—STATE OF
 FRANCE.—RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE.—THE
 ENGLISH EXPELLED FRANCE.

DURING the reigns of the Lancastrian princes the authority of Parliament seems to have been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than during any former period ; and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity. The long minority, of which there was now the prospect, encouraged still farther the Lords and Commons to extend their influence, and, without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V., they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of *Regent* with regard to England ; they appointed the Duke of Bedford, *Protector*, or *Guardian*, of that kingdom, a title which they supposed to imply less authority ; they invested the Duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother ;¹ and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined.² The person and education of the infant prince were committed to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester,

¹ Rymer, vol. x. p. 261. Cotton, p. 564.

² Cotton, p. 546.

his great-uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, a prelate who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge.³ The two princes, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, yet being persons of great integrity and honor, acquiesced in any appointment which tended to give security to the public; and as the wars in France appeared to be the object of greatest moment, they avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign conquests.

When the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared to be an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the administration was devolved on the Duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, whose experience, prudence, valor, and generosity qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends and to gain the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command; he was at the head of armies inured to victory; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the Earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolffe; and besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital, and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English forces.

But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his situation, partly from his personal character, which promised him success, and served first to control, then to overbalance, the superior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy; all Frenchmen who knew the interests or desired the independence of their country turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource; the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate consent of the states, had plainly no validity; that spirit of faction which had blinded the people could not long hold them in so gross a

³ Hall, fol. 83. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 27.

delusion; their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must soon revive, and inspire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of that hostile people; great nobles and princes, accustomed to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers; and though most of the princes of the blood were, since the fatal battle of Azincour, detained prisoners in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting the violence of foreign invaders.

Charles himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments; and, perhaps, from the favor which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous, understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the services of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are so frequently exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his general remissness proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition or of personal valor.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay some time in obscurity, the Duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France, an enterprise which, however it might seem to be much advanced, was still exposed to many and great difficulties. The chief circumstance which had procured to the English all their present advantages was the resentment of the Duke of Burgundy against Charles; and as that prince seemed intent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was the more easy for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent,

therefore, all his endeavors to that purpose; he gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard; he even offered him the regency of France, which Philip declined; and that he might corroborate national connections by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the Princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

[1423.] Being sensible that, next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the Duke of Brittany was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests, and that, as the provinces of France already subdued lay between the dominions of these two princes, he could never hope for any security without preserving his connections with them, he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The Duke of Brittany, having received many just reasons of displeasure from the ministers of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vassals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in quality of heir to the kingdom; but as the regent knew that the duke was much governed by his brother, the Count of Richemont, he endeavored to fix his friendship by paying court and doing services to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, Count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had even been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Brittany, where the state of affairs required his presence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended that, as his word was given personally to Henry V., he was not bound to fulfil it towards his son and successor—a chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, at which the Count of Richemont was also present.⁴ The alliance was renewed between these princes, and the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin, Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the Duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to prosecute the same object in forwarding the success of the English arms.

While the vigilance of the Duke of Bedford was em-

⁴ Hall, fol. 84. Monstrelet, vol. i. p. 4. Stowe, p. 364.

ployed in gaining or confirming these allies, whose vicinity rendered them so important, he did not overlook the state of more remote countries. The Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, had died, and his power had devolved on Murdac, his son, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent disposition, who, far from possessing the talents requisite for the government of that fierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family or restrain the petulance and insolence of his sons. The ardor of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honor and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke out afresh under this feeble administration. New succors daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king: the Earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of five thousand men to his assistance; and it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the north, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present so grievously oppressed. The Duke of Bedford, therefore, persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James, their prisoner, to free that prince from his long captivity, and to connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of the Earl of Somerset and cousin of the young king.⁵ As the Scottish regent, tired of his present dignity, which he was not able to support, was now become entirely sincere in his applications for James's liberty, the treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated;⁶ and the King of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traitorous kinsman, the Earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the side of France; but the English had never reason, during his lifetime, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland.

But the regent was not so much employed in these political negotiations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to succeed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief seat of Charles's power lay in the southern provinces, beyond the Loire, his partisans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even

⁵ Hall, fol. 86. Stowe, p. 364. Grafton, p. 501.

⁶ Rymer, vol. x. pp. 299, 300, 326.

in the neighborhood of Paris ; and it behooved the Duke of Bedford first to clear these countries from the enemy before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Dorsoy was taken after a siege of six weeks ; that of Noyelle and the town of Rüe, in Picardy, underwent the same fate ; Pont sur Seine, Vertus, Montaigu, were subjected by the British arms ; and a more considerable advantage was soon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. John Stuart, Constable of Scotland, and the Lord of Estissac had formed the siege of Crevant, in Burgundy ; the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with the Count of Toulangeon, were sent to its relief ; a fierce and well-disputed action ensued ; the Scots and French were defeated ; the Constable of Scotland and the Count of Ventadour were taken prisoners, and above a thousand men, among whom were Sir William Hamilton, were left on the field of battle.⁷ The taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of La Charité upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory ; and as this latter place opened an entrance into the southern provinces, the acquisition of it appeared on that account of the greater importance to the Duke of Bedford, and seemed to promise a successful issue to the war.

[1424.] The more Charles was threatened with an invasion in those provinces which adhered to him, the more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The Duke of Bedford had besieged in person, during the space of three months, the town of Yvri, in Normandy ; and the brave governor, unable to make any longer defence, was obliged to capitulate, and he agreed to surrender the town if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected with some difficulty an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots, and he sent them thither under the command of the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, who was attended by the Earl of Douglas, his countryman, the Duke of Alençon, the Mareschal de la Fayette, the Count of Aumale, and the Viscount of Narbonne. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that he was come too late, and that the place was already surrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and sat down

⁷ Hall, fol. 85. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 8. Hollingshed, p. 586. Grafton, p. 506.

before Vernetuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him.⁸ Buchan might now have returned in safety, and with the glory of making an acquisition no less important than the place which he was sent to relieve; but hearing of Bedford's approach, he called a council of war, in order to deliberate concerning the conduct which he should hold in this emergence. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat, and represented that all the past misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their rashness in giving battle when no necessity obliged them; that this army was the last resource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces which remained to him; and that every reason invited him to embrace cautious measures, which might leave time for his subjects to return to a sense of their duty, and give leisure for discord to arise among his enemies, who, being united by no common bond of interest or motive of alliance, could not long persevere in their animosity against him. All these prudential considerations were overborne by a vain point of honor not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they resolved to await the arrival of the Duke of Bedford.

The numbers were nearly equal in this action; and as the long continuance of war had introduced discipline, which, however imperfect, sufficed to maintain some appearance of order in such small armies, the battle was fierce and well disputed, and attended with bloodshed on both sides. The constable drew up his forces under the walls of Vernetuil, and resolved to abide the attack of the enemy; but the impatience of the Viscount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately and obliged the whole line to follow him in some hurry and confusion, was the cause of the misfortune which ensued. The English archers, fixing their palisadoes before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows amidst the thickest of the French army; and though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take shelter among the baggage, they soon rallied, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The Duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, made impression on the French, broke their ranks, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory entirely complete and decisive.⁹ The constable himself perished in

⁸ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 14. Grafton, p. 504.

⁹ Hall, fol. 88, 89, 90. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15. Stowe, p. 365. Hollingshed, p. 588.

battle, as well as the Earl of Douglas and his son, the Counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other considerable nobility. The Duke of Alençon, the Mareschal de la Fayette, the Lords of Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four thousand of the French and sixteen hundred of the English—a loss esteemed, at that time, so unusual on the side of the victors that the Duke of Bedford forbade all rejoicings for his success. Verneuil was surrendered next day by capitulation.¹⁰

The condition of the King of France now appeared very terrible, and almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army and the bravest of his nobles in this fatal action; he had no resource either for recruiting or subsisting his troops; he wanted money, even, for his personal subsistence; and though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, supplied with the plainest necessaries, for himself and his few followers; every day brought him intelligence of some loss or misfortune; towns which were bravely defended were obliged, at last, to surrender for want of relief or supply; he saw his partisans entirely chased from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire; and he expected soon to lose, by the united efforts of his enemies, all the territories of which he had hitherto continued master, when an incident happened which saved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity for completing their conquests as they never afterwards were able to recall.

Jaqueline, Countess of Hainault and Holland, and heir of these provinces, had espoused John, Duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the Duke of Burgundy; but having made this choice from the usual motives of princes, she soon found reason to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding; the Duke of Brabant was of a sickly complexion and weak mind; she was in the vigor of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year. These causes had inspired her with such contempt for her husband, which soon proceeded to antipathy, that she determined to dissolve a marriage where it is probable nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly very open to applications of this nature when seconded by power and money; but as the princess foresaw great opposition from her husband's rela-

¹⁰ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15.

tions, and was impatient to effect her purpose, she made her escape into England, and threw herself under the protection of the Duke of Gloucester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement passions; and he was rashly induced, as well by the charms of the countess herself as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation, without endeavoring to reconcile the Duke of Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her dominions. Philip was disgusted with so precipitate a conduct; he resented the injury done to the Duke of Brabant, his near relation; he dreaded to have the English established on all sides of him; and he foresaw the consequences which must attend the extensive and uncontrolled dominion of that nation if, before the full settlement of their power, they insulted and injured an ally to whom they had already been so much indebted, and who was still so necessary for supporting them in their farther progress. He encouraged, therefore, the Duke of Brabant to make resistance; he engaged many of Jaqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince; he himself marched troops to his support; and as the Duke of Gloucester still persevered in his purpose, a sharp war was suddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel soon became personal as well as political. The English prince wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, complaining of the opposition made to his pretensions; and though, in the main, he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of some falsehoods into which, he said, Philip had been betrayed during the course of these transactions. This unguarded expression was highly resented; the Duke of Burgundy insisted that he should retract it; and mutual challenges and defiances passed between them on this occasion.¹¹

The Duke of Bedford could easily foresee the bad effects of so ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the succors which he expected from England, and which were so necessary in this critical emergence, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault; the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars; and, besides this double loss, he was in imminent danger of alienating forever that con-

¹¹ Monstrelet, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20, 21.

federate whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. He represented all these topics to the Duke of Gloucester; he endeavored to mitigate the resentment of the Duke of Burgundy; he interposed with his good offices between these princes; but was not successful in any of his endeavors; and he found that the impetuosity of his brother's temper was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation.¹² For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Verneuil, he found himself obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of the Duke of Gloucester.

There had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's presence to compose them.¹³ The Bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been intrusted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character; and as he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew, the protector, and he gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. [1425.] The Duke of Bedford employed the authority of Parliament to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise before that assembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion.¹⁴ Time also seemed to open expedients for composing the difference with the Duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the Duke of Gloucester was annulled, but it was also declared that, even in case of the Duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank who had lived some time with him as his mistress.¹⁵ The Duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the Duke of Burgundy her heir in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But though the affair was thus terminated to the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression on his

¹² Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 18.¹³ Stowe, p. 368. Hollingshed, p. 590.¹⁴ Hall, fol. 98, 99. Hollingshed, pp. 593, 594. Polyd. Verg., p. 466. Grafton, pp. 512, 519.¹⁵ Stowe, p. 367.

mind ; it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interests ; and as nothing but his animosity against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which, in the end, became prevalent, and brought him back by degrees to his natural connections with his family and his native country.

About the same time the Duke of Brittany began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the Count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the Dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest, and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made him for obtaining his friendship. The staff of constable, vacant by the Earl of Buchan's death, was offered him ; and as his martial and ambitious temper aspired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the Duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered, ever after, to his engagements with France. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his master's confidence, and even prompted him to assassinate his other favorites, had so much disgusted Charles that he once banished him the court and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigor for the service of that monarch, and obtained at last, by his perseverance, the pardon of all past offences.

In this situation the Duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France, after passing eight months in England. [1426.] The Duke of Burgundy was much disgusted. The Duke of Brittany had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the astonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident, too, had happened which served extremely to raise their courage. The Earl of Warwick had besieged Montargis with a small army of three thousand men ; and the place was reduced to extremity, when the bastard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural son to the prince assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created Count of Dunois, conducted a body of sixteen hundred men to Montargis, and made an attack on the enemy's

trenches with so much valor, prudence, and good fortune that he not only penetrated into the place, but gave a severe blow to the English, and obliged Warwick to raise the siege.¹⁶ This was the first signal action that raised the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to those great honors which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the English arms by an important enterprise which he happily achieved. He secretly brought together, in separate detachments, a considerable army to the frontiers of Brittany, and fell so unexpectedly upon that province that the duke, unable to make resistance, yielded to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the Duke of Bedford for regent of France, and promised to do homage for his duchy to King Henry.¹⁷ And the English prince, having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an undertaking which, if successful, would, he hoped, cast the balance between the two nations, and prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry and those possessed by Charles that it opened an easy entrance to either; [1428.] and as the Duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France, it behooved him to begin with this place, which, in the present circumstances, was become the most important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the Earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of six thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself by his abilities during the course of the present war. Salisbury, passing the Loire, made himself master of several small places which surrounded Orleans, on that side:¹⁸ and as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and enable it to maintain a long and obstinate siege. The Lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor; many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place; the troops which they conducted were inured to war, and were

¹⁶ Monstrelet, vol. ii. pp. 32, 33. Hollingshed, p. 597.

¹⁷ Monstrelet, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

¹⁸ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 38, 39. Polyd. Verg. p. 468.

determined to make the most obstinate resistance ; and even the inhabitants, disciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene, where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their sovereign.

The Earl of Salisbury at last approached the place with an army which consisted only of ten thousand men ; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beausse, still open to the enemy. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge, and, after an obstinate resistance, he carried several of them ; but was himself killed by a cannon-ball as he was taking a view of the enemy.¹⁹ The Earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command ; and being reinforced with great numbers of English and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult, in that season, to throw up intrenchments all around, contented himself, for the present, with erecting redoubts at different distances, where his men were lodged in safety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the first sieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance), the art of engineering was hitherto so imperfect that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force for subduing the city ; and he purposed in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valor were performed both by the besiegers and besieged during the winter. Bold sallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness ; convoys were sometimes introduced and often intercepted ; the supplies were still unequal to the consumption of the place ; and the English seemed daily, though slowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterprise.

But while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French par-

¹⁹ Hall, fol. 405. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 39. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 599. Grafton, p. 531.

ties ravaged all the country around; [1429.] and the besiegers, who were obliged to draw their provisions from a distance, were themselves exposed to the danger of want and famine. Sir John Fastolffe was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores, which he escorted with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the Counts of Clermont and Dunois. Fastolffe drew up his troops behind the wagons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that posture, planted a battery of cannon against him, which threw everything into confusion, and would have insured them the victory had not the impatience of some Scottish troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolffe was victorious. The Count of Dunois was wounded, and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was of great importance in the present conjuncture, was commonly called the battle of *Herrings*, because the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of provisions for the use of the English army during the Lent season.²⁰

Charles seemed now to have but one expedient for saving this city, which had been so long invested. The Duke of Orleans, who was still prisoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to consent that all his demesnes should be allowed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and should be sequestered, for greater security, into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much less cordial in the English interests than formerly, went to Paris, and made the proposal to the Duke of Bedford; but the regent coldly replied that he was not of a humor to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game—an answer which so disgusted the duke that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the siege.²¹ The place, however, was every day more and more closely invested by the English; great scarcity began already to be felt by the garison and inhabitants; Charles, in despair of collecting an army which should dare to approach the enemy's intrenchments, not only gave the city for lost, but began to entertain a very dismal prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs. He saw that the country in which

²⁰ Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 600. Polyd. Verg. p. 469. Grafton, p. 532.

²¹ Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Stowe, p. 369. Grafton, p. 533.

he had hitherto with great difficulty subsisted would be laid entirely open to the invasion of a powerful and victorious enemy ; and he already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, and defending himself as long as possible in those remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this good prince that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women whom he consulted had the spirit to support his sinking resolution in this desperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently opposed this measure, which, she foresaw, would discourage all his partisans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress, too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened that, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite ; he resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy, and rather to perish with honor in the midst of his friends than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune ; when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions that is to be met with in history.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country-girl of twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was servant in a small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men-servants.²² This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity ; whether that she had met with no occasion to excite her genius, or that the unskilful eyes of those who conversed with her had not been able to discern her uncommon merit. It is easy to imagine that the present situation of France was an interesting object even to persons of the lowest rank, and would become the frequent subject of conversation ; a young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects, and by the arms of strangers, could not

²² Hall, fol. 107. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Grafton, p. 534.

fail to move the compassion of all his people whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction ; and the peculiar character of Charles, so strongly inclined to friendship and the tender passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that sex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The siege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that place, the great distress of the garrison and inhabitants, the importance of saving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye ; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favorite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations ; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path ; and thinking herself destined by Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor, informed him of her inspirations and intentions, and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second these heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect ; but on her frequent returns to him, and importunate solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make so easy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar of so uncommon an engine, or, what is more likely in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary ; but he adopted at last the schemes of Joan, and he gave her some attendants who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the *miraculous* and the *marvellous* ; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human ; to doubt the second ; and when obliged by unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended that Joan, immediately on

her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside everything in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him; that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans and conduct him to Rheims, to be there the crowned and anointed; and, on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected.²³ This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiously examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was sent to the Parliament, then residing at Poitiers, and was interrogated before that assembly. The presidents, the counsellors, who came persuaded of her imposture, went away convinced of her inspiration. A ray of hope began to break through that despair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Heaven had now declared itself in favor of France, and had laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few could distinguish between the impulse of inclination and the force of conviction, and none would submit to the trouble of so disagreeable a scrutiny.

After these artificial precautions and preparations had been for some time employed, Joan's requests were at last complied with; she was armed cap-à-pie, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission, and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her former occupation was even denied: she was no longer the servant of an inn; she was converted into a shepherdess, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To render

²³ Hall, fol. 107. Hollingshed, p. 600.

her still more interesting, near ten years were subtracted from her age; and all the sentiments of love and of chivalry were thus united to those of enthusiasm, in order to inflame the fond fancy of the people with prepossessions in her favor.

When the engine was thus dressed up in full splendor, it was determined to essay its force against the enemy. Joan was sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men, under the command of St. Severe, assembled to escort it. She ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out on the enterprise; she banished from the camp all women of bad fame; she displayed in her hands a consecrated banner, where the supreme Being was represented grasping the globe of earth, and surrounded with flower-le-luces; and she insisted, in right of her prophetic mission, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the side of Beausse; but the Count of Dunois, unwilling to submit the rules of the military art to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was stationed.

Previous to this attempt, the maid had written to the regent, and to the English generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the Omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege, and to evacuate France; and menacing them with Divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. All the English affected to speak with derision of the maid, and of her heavenly commission, and said that the French king was now indeed reduced to a sorry pass when he had recourse to such ridiculous expedients; but they felt their imagination secretly struck with the vehement persuasion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror, for the issue of these extraordinary preparations.

As the convoy approached the river, a sally was made by the garrison on the side of Beausse to prevent the English general from sending any detachment to the other side; the provisions were peaceably embarked in boats which the inhabitants of Orleans had sent to receive them; the maid covered with her troops the embarkation; Suffolk did not venture to attack her; and the French general carried back the army in safety to Blois—an alteration of affairs which

was already visible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb and displaying her consecrated standard, and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themselves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himself, perceiving such a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, consented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, should enter by the side of Beausse. The convoy approached: no sign of resistance appeared in the besiegers; the wagons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English; a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops formerly so elated with victory and so fierce, for the combat.

The Earl of Suffolk was in a situation very unusual and extraordinary, and which might well confound the man of the greatest capacity and firmest temper. He saw his troops overawed, and strongly impressed with the idea of a divine influence accompanying the maid. Instead of banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the soldiers should recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leisure for those prepossessions to sink still deeper into their minds. The military maxims which are prudent in common cases deceived him in these unaccountable events. The English felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed, and thence inferred a divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. Every circumstance was now reversed in the opinions of men, on which all depends; the spirit resulting from a long course of uninterrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

The maid called aloud that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. The generals seconded her ardor; an attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful;²⁴ all the English who defended the intrenchments were put to the sword or taken prisoners; and Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops to bring them relief, durst not appear in the open field against so formidable an enemy.

²⁴ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 45.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their intrenchments; but Dunois, still unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and sensible that the least reverse of fortune would make all the present visions evaporate and restore everything to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other side of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprise. Joan was persuaded, and these forts were vigorously assailed. In one attack the French were repulsed; the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat and join the run-aways; but displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By all these successes the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side; they had lost above six thousand men in these different actions; and, what was still more important, their wonted courage and confidence was wholly gone, and had given place to amazement and despair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing such miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission; men felt themselves animated as by a superior energy, and thought nothing impossible to that divine hand which so visibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence; they themselves were probably moved by the same belief; the utmost they dared to advance was that Joan was not an instrument of God, she was only the implement of the devil; but as the English had felt, to their sad experience, that the devil might be allowed sometimes to prevail, they derived not much consolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

It might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, with

such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy ; he therefore raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French resolved to push their conquests, and to allow the English no leisure to recover from their consternation. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The siege lasted ten days, and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity on the occasion. She descended into the fossé, in leading the attack, and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground ; but she soon recovered herself, and in the end rendered the assault successful. Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud ; but before he submitted he asked his adversary whether he were a gentleman. On receiving a satisfactory answer, he demanded whether he were a knight. Renaud replied that he had not yet attained that honor. " Then I make you one," replied Suffolk, upon which he gave him the blow with his sword which dubbed him into that fraternity, and he immediately surrendered himself his prisoner. The remainder of the English army was commanded by Fastolffe, Scales, and Talbot, who thought of nothing but of making their retreat, as soon as possible, into a place of safety ; while the French esteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which passed before Orleans altered everything between the two nations ! The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xantrailles, attacked the rear of the enemy at the village of Patay. The battle lasted not a moment ; the English were discomfited and fled ; the brave Fastolffe himself showed the example of flight to his troops ; and the order of the garter was taken from him as a punishment for this instance of cowardice.²⁵ Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes, the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of *the Maid of Orleans*) as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general ; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain that the policy of the French court endeavored to

²⁵ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 46.

maintain this appearance with the public ; but it is much more probable that Dunois and the wiser commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country-girl, without experience or education, could on a sudden become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely ; that she could seize their hints and suggestions, and, on a sudden, deliver their opinions as her own ; and that she could curb, on occasion, that visionary and enthusiastic spirit with which she was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and discretion.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles ; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other ; and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom ; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy ; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons ; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine that such an attempt could so soon come within the bounds of possibility. But as it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess, and to lead his army upon this promising adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war : as the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been persuaded to restrain his military ardor ; but observing this prosperous turn of affairs, he now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to set the example of valor to all his soldiers ; and the French nobility saw at once their young sovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune, and conducted by the hand of Heaven ; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.

Charles set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men ; he passed by Troye, which opened its gates to him ; Chalons imitated the example ; Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it ; and he scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coro-

nation was here performed²⁶ with the holy oil which a pigeon had brought to King Clovis from Heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy; the Maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armor, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often dissipated and confounded his fiercest enemies; and the people shouted with the most unfeigned joy on viewing such a complication of wonders. After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herself at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and, with a flood of tears which pleasure and tenderness extorted from her, she congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects, and seemed in a manner to receive anew, from a heavenly commission, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men swaying their belief, no one doubted of the inspirations and prophetic spirit of the maid; so many incidents which passed all human comprehension left little room to question a superior influence; and the real and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could scarcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighborhood, immediately after Charles's coronation, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the Duke of Bedford than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contagious example. This prince seemed present everywhere by his vigilance and foresight; he employed every resource which fortune had yet left him; he put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence; he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an insurrection; he retained the Parisians in obedience by alternately employing caresses and severity; and knowing that the Duke of Burgundy was already wavering in his fidelity, he acted with so much skill and prudence as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that

²⁶ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 48.

prince—an alliance of the utmost importance to the credit and support of the English government.

The small supplies which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardor of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely abated by time and reflection; the Parliament seems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their farther progress; no supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses; and men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England of the magic, and sorcery, and diabolical power of the Maid of Orleans.²⁷ It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the Bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties;²⁸ and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary capacity of the Duke of Bedford appeared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for Charles to attack him. [1430.] He still attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudence or false step of the enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers who served at their own expense, soon after retired and was disbanded; Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence, but not till he made himself master of Compiègne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St. Denis, and of many places in the neighborhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

The regent endeavored to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young King of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris.²⁹ All the vassals of the crown who lived within the provinces possessed by the English swore new allegiance and did homage

²⁷ Rymer, vol. x. pp. 459, 472.

²⁹ Rymer, vol. x. p. 432.

²⁸ Rymer, x. p. 421.

to him. But this ceremony was cold and insipid compared with the lustre which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the Duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

The Maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the Count of Dunois that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no farther desire than to return to her former condition, and to the occupation and course of life which became her sex; but that nobleman, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by the Earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The maid, next day after her arrival, headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg; she twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments; finding their numbers to increase every moment, she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but, being here deserted by her friends and surrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exerting the utmost valor, taken prisoner by the Burgundians.³⁰ The common opinion was that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

The envy of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. The service of *Te Deum*, which has so often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The Duke of Bedford fancied that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and, to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which,

³⁰ Stowe, p. 371.

whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonorable.

[1431.] There was no possible reason why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtesy and good usage which civilized nations practice towards enemies on these occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment; she was unstained by any civil crime; even the virtues and the very decorums of her sex had ever been rigidly observed by her; and though her appearing in war and leading armies to battle may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her prince that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity, and was, on that very account, the more an object of praise and admiration. It was necessary, therefore, for the Duke of Bedford to interest religion some way in the prosecution, and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of justice and humanity.

The Bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic; the University of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request. Several prelates, among whom the Cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges; they held their court in Roüen, where the young King of England then resided; and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She first desired to be eased of her chains; the judges answered that she had once already attempted an escape by throwing herself from a tower; she confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches showed the same firmness and intrepidity: though harassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, she never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission; and no advantage was gained over her. The point which her judges pushed most vehemently was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her whether she would submit to the Church the truth of these inspirations. She replied that she would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed that she was a heretic, and denied the authority of

the Church. She appealed to the pope ; they rejected her appeal.

They asked her why she put trust in her standard, which had been consecrated by magical incantations. She replied that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded why she carried in her hand that standard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims. She answered that the person who had shared the danger was entitled to share the glory. When accused of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her sex, and of assuming government and command over men, she scrupled not to reply that her sole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the kingdom. In the issue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy ; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people ; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Joan, so long surrounded by inveterate enemies who treated her with every mark of contumely, browbeaten and overawed by men of superior rank, and men invested with the ensigns of a sacred character which she had been accustomed to revere, felt her spirit at last subdued ; and those visionary dreams of inspiration in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of success and the applauses of her own party gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was sentenced. She publicly declared herself willing to recant ; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the Church had rejected ; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated : she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

Enough was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the French and the English that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had now consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, all her former ideas and

passions revived; and she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy; no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burnt in the market-place of Roüen, and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and to her native country.

[1432.] The affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay; the great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination which had seized the French to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was surprised by a stratagem of the Count of Dunois; a body of the English, under Lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin, upon the Sarte;³¹ the fair in the suburbs of Caen, seated in the midst of the English territories, was pillaged by De Lore, a French officer; the Duke of Bedford himself was obliged by Dunois to raise the siege of Lagni, with some loss of reputation; and all these misfortunes, though light, yet being continued and uninterrupted, brought discredit on the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent sustained was by the death of his duchess, who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the Duke of Burgundy;³² and his marriage soon afterwards with Jaqueline of Luxembourg was the beginning of a breach between them.³³ Philip complained that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that so sudden a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The Cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpose. The Duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was son, brother, and uncle to a king, and because he had already made such advances as to come into the Duke of Burgundy's

³¹ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 100.

³² Stowe, p. 373. Grafton, p. 554.

³³ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 87.

territories in order to have an interview with him ; but Philip, proud of his great power and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent ; and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without seeing each other.³⁴ A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past amity !

Nothing could be more repugnant to the interests of the house of Burgundy than to unite the crowns of France and England on the same head ; an event which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his situation entirely dependent and precarious. The title also to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been sacrificed by the treaty of Troye ; and strangers and enemies were thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolitic measures, and a point of honor had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority, the duke had, for some years, appeared sensibly to relent in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late Duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favor ; his incapacity to judge for himself ; the ascendant gained over him by his ministers ; and his inability to resent a deed which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the King of France had banished from his court and presence Tanegui de Chatel and all those who were concerned in that assassination, and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The distress which Charles had already suffered had tended to gratify the duke's revenge ; the miseries to which France had been so long exposed had begun to move his compassion ; and the cries of all Europe admonished him that his resentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried farther, be universally condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England made a double impression upon him ; the entreaties of the Count of Richemont, and the Duke of Bourbon, who had married his two sisters, had weight ; and he finally deter-

³⁴ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 90. Grafton, p. 561.

mined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended. [1435.] For this purpose a congress was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Basle; the Duke of Burgundy came thither in person; the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Richemont, and other persons of high rank appeared as ambassadors from France; and the English having also been invited to attend, the Cardinal of Winchester, the Bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the Earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the protector and council a commission for that purpose.³⁵

The conferences were held in the abbey of St. Vaast, and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the usual homage and vassalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were universally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reasonable; and the Cardinal of Winchester, with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. These were easily adjusted: the vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonorable and disadvantageous to the crown of France. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded several other territories; he agreed that these and all the other dominions of Philip should be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage or swearing fealty to the present king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance if ever he infringed this treaty.³⁶ Such were the conditions upon which France purchased the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy.

The duke sent a herald to England with a letter in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologized for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldness; they even assigned him his lodgings in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult;

³⁵ Rymer, vol. x. pp. 611, 612. ³⁶ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 112. Grafton, p. 565.

and the populace were so incensed that, if the Duke of Gloucester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger when he appeared in the streets. The Flemings and other subjects of Philip were insulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and everything seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations.⁸⁷ These violences were not disagreeable to the Duke of Burgundy, as they afforded him a pretence for the farther measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

A few days after the Duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, so fatal to the interests of England, he died at Roüen—a prince of great abilities and of many virtues, and whose memory, except from the barbarous execution of the Maid of Orleans, was unsullied by any considerable blemish. Isabella, Queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her later years to regard with an unnatural horror the progress and success of her own son in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was also signalized by the death of the Earl of Arundel,⁸⁸ a great English general, who, though he commanded three thousand men, was foiled by Xaintrailles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

[1436.] The violent factions which prevailed between the Duke of Gloucester and the Cardinal of Winchester prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses, and threw all their affairs into confusion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic and interested spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties kept everything in suspense; foreign affairs were much neglected; and though the Duke of York, son to that Earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the Duke of Bedford, it was seven months before his commission passed the seals; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country without a proper head or governor.

The new governor, on his arrival, found the capital al-

⁸⁷ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 120. Hollingshed, p. 612.

⁸⁸ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 105. Hollingshed, p. 610.

ready lost. The Parisians had always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, universally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign. The constable, together with Lile-Adam, the same person who had before put Paris into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens; Lord Willoughby, who commanded only a small garrison of one thousand five hundred men, was expelled; this nobleman discovered valor and presence of mind on the occasion; but, unable to guard so large a place against such multitudes, he retired into the Bastile, and, being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops into Normandy.³⁹

In the same season the Duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the English any sure hold of France and still rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of *Good* from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the success of this enterprise; and he invested that place with an army formidable from its numbers, but without experience, discipline, or military spirit.⁴⁰ On the first alarm of this siege, the Duke of Gloucester assembled some forces, sent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promised to give as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the English had at that time rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe, especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the Duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raise the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.⁴¹

The English were still masters of many fine provinces in France, but retained possession more by the extreme weakness of Charles than by the strength of their own garrisons or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made during the course of several years, by these two potent na-

³⁹ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 127. Grafton, p. 568.

⁴⁰ Monstrelet, vol. ii. pp. 126, 130, 132. Hollingshed, p. 613. Grafton, p. 571.

⁴¹ Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 136. Hollingshed, p. 614.

tions against each other, while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its rival. The general want of industry, commerce, and police, in that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burdens of war when it was prolonged beyond one season; and the continuance of hostilities had, long ere this time, exhausted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either side; and all the operations consisted in the surprisal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incursions upon the open country, which were performed by small bodies assembled on a sudden from the neighboring garrisons. In this method of conducting the war the French king had much the advantage: the affections of the people were entirely on his side; intelligence was early brought him of the state and motions of the enemy; the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts against the garrisons; and thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained upon the English. The Duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, struggled against these difficulties during the course of five years; and being assisted by the valor of Lord Talbot, soon after created Earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honor, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well had this feeble war, in sparing the blood of the people, prevented likewise all other oppressions; and had the fury of men, which reason and justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotence and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted such small force, were, however, stretching beyond their resources, which were still smaller; and the troops, destitute of pay, were obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the country both of friends and enemies. [1440.] The fields in all the north of France, which was the seat of war, were laid waste and left uncultivated.⁴² The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood spilt in battle, but by the more destructive pillage of the garrisons;⁴³ and both parties, weary of hostilities which decided nothing, seemed

⁴² Grafton, p. 562.

⁴³ Fortescue, who soon after this period visited France in the train of Prince Henry, speaks of that kingdom as a desert in comparison of England. See his treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Though we make allowance for the partialities of Fortescue, there must have been some foundation for his account; and these destructive wars are the most likely reason to be assigned for the difference remarked by this author.

at last desirous of peace, and they set on foot negotiations for that purpose. But the proposals of France and the demands of England were still so wide of each other that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district, and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince; the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the usual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negotiation while there was so little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more suitable to the present condition of the two kingdoms.

The Duke of York soon after resigned his government to the Earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and, during his administration, a truce was concluded between the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of their subjects.⁴⁴ The war with France continued in the same languid and feeble state as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was now entirely lost. Some of these princes had died; some had been ransomed; and the Duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the hands of the English. He offered the sum of fifty-four thousand nobles⁴⁵ for his liberty; and when this proposal was laid before the council of England, as every question was there an object of faction, the party of the Duke of Gloucester and that of the Cardinal of Winchester were divided in their sentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of these prisoners should on any account be released till

⁴⁴ Grafton, p. 573.

⁴⁵ Rymer, vol. x. pp. 764, 776, 782, 795, 796. This sum was equal to thirty-six thousand pounds sterling of our present money. A subsidy of a tenth and fifteenth was fixed by Edward III. at twenty-nine thousand pounds, which, in the reign of Henry VI., made only fifty-eight thousand pounds of our present money. The Parliament granted only one subsidy during the course of seven years, from 1437 to 1441.

his son should be of sufficient age to hold himself the reins of government. The cardinal insisted on the greatness of the sum offered, which in reality was nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies that the Parliament, during the course of seven years, granted for the support of the war. And he added that the release of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the English interests, by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to those numerous malcontents whom Charles was at present able, with great difficulty, to restrain. The cardinal's party, as usual, prevailed; the Duke of Orleans was released, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years;⁴⁶ and the Duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ransom. It must be confessed that the princes and nobility, in those ages, went to war on very disadvantageous terms. If they were taken prisoners, they either remained in captivity during life or purchased their liberty at the price which the victors were pleased to impose, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

The sentiments of the cardinal, some time after, prevailed in another point of still greater moment. [1443.] That prelate had always encouraged every proposal, of accommodation with France, and had represented the utter impossibility, in the present circumstances, of pushing farther the conquests in that kingdom, and the great difficulty of even maintaining those that were already made. He insisted on the extreme reluctance of the Parliament to grant supplies; the disorders in which the English affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progress made by the French king; and the advantage of stopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favor of the English. The Duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquish all hopes of prevailing over France; much less could he see, with patience, his own opinion thwarted and rejected by the influence of his rival in the English council. But notwithstanding his opposition, the Earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was despatched to Tours in order to negotiate

⁴⁶ Grafton, p. 578.

with the French ministers. It was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left everything on the present footing between the parties. The numerous disorders under which the French government labored, and which time alone could remedy, induced Charles to assent to this truce; and the same motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it.⁴⁷ But Suffolk, not content with executing this object of his commission, proceeded also to finish another business, which seems rather to have been implied than expressed in the powers that had been granted him.⁴⁸

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand, as it was probable that this circumstance would decide forever the victory between them. The Duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, but had not credit to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from the Count of Anjou, brother of Charles V., who had left these magnificent titles, but without any real power or possession, to his posterity. This princess herself was the most accomplished of her age both in body and mind, and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect that, when she should mount the throne, they would break out with still superior lustre. The Earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were ac-

⁴⁷ Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 101, 108, 206, 214.

⁴⁸ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 53.

cepted. But this nobleman, besides preoccupying the princess's favor by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavored to ingratiate himself with her and her family by very extraordinary concessions. Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured of himself, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle,⁴⁹ who was prime minister and favorite of the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England; Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of Parliament for his services in concluding it.⁵⁰ The princess fell immediately into close connections with the cardinal and his party, the Dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham,⁵¹ who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the Duke of Gloucester.

[1447.] This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited, but possessing, in a high degree, the favor of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald, Lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted, in a magical manner, before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigor waste away by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, so opposite to all common-sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common-sense in their evidence: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed.⁵² But

⁴⁹ Grafton, p. 590.

⁵⁰ Cotton, p. 630.

⁵¹ Hollingshead, p. 626.

⁵² Stowe, p. 381. Hollingshead, p. 622. Grafton, p. 597.

as these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their usual practice in such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince who was thus exposed, without protection, to those mortal injuries.

These sentiments of the public made the Cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. In order to effect their purpose, a Parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondsbury, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy. As soon as he appeared, he was accused of treason and thrown into prison. He was soon after found dead in his bed; ⁵³ and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice formerly practised in the case of Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, could deceive nobody. The reason of this assassination of the duke seems not that the ruling party apprehended his acquittal in Parliament on account of his innocence, which, in such times was seldom much regarded, but that they imagined his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder, which they pretended to deny. Some gentlemen of his retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treasons, and were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were hanged and cut down; but just as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life.⁵⁴ The most barbarous kind of mercy that can possibly be imagined!

This prince is said to have received a better education than was usual in his age, to have founded one of the first public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. Among other advantages which he reaped from this turn of mind, it tended much to cure him of credulity, of which the following instance is given by Sir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended, that though he was born blind, he had recovered his sight by touching the

⁵³ Grafton, p. 597.

⁵⁴ Fabian. Chron. anno 1447.

shrine of St. Alban. The duke, happening soon after to pass that way, questioned the man, and, seeming to doubt of his sight, asked him the colors of several cloaks worn by persons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. "You are a knave," cried the prince, "had you been born blind, you could not so soon have learned to distinguish colors;" and immediately ordered him to be set in the stocks as an impostor.⁵⁵

The Cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the Duke of Suffolk, and which, it is said, gave him more remorse in his last moments than could naturally be expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt is uncertain; her usual activity and spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened, soon after, an event of which she and her favorite, the Duke of Suffolk, bore incontestably the whole odium.

That article of the marriage treaty by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto kept secret; and, during the lifetime of the Duke of Gloucester, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it. But, as the court of France strenuously insisted on performance, orders were now despatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to surrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either questioning the authenticity of the order or regarding his government as his sole fortune, refused compliance; and it became necessary for a French army, under the Count of Dunois, to lay siege to the city. The governor made as good a defence as his situation could permit; but receiving no relief from Edmund, Duke of Somerset, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at last obliged to capitulate, and to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

[1448.] The bad effects of this measure stopped not here. Surienne, at the head of all his garrisons, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quar-

⁵⁵ Grafton, p. 597.

tered in some towns of that province; but Somerset, who had no means of subsisting such a multitude, and who was probably incensed at Surienne's disobedience, refused to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the King of France or of England, marched into Brittany, seized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. James de Beuvron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province.⁵⁶ The Duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the King of France, his liege lord. Charles remonstrated with the duke of Somerset; that nobleman replied that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions.⁵⁷ Though this answer ought to have appeared satisfactory to Charles, who had often felt severely the licentious, independent spirit of such mercenary soldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He still insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation should be made to the Duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained; and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than one million six hundred thousand crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England, and he determined to take advantage of it.

No sooner was the truce concluded between the two kingdoms than Charles employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numberless ills to which France, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline in his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself and formidable to its neighbors. Meanwhile affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other; the people were discontented with the government; conquests in France, which were an object more of glory than of interest, were overlooked amidst domestic incidents, which engrossed the attention of all men; the governor of Normandy, ill

⁵⁶ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 6.

⁵⁷ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 7. Hollingshed, p. 629.

supplied with money, was obliged to dismiss the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous; and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connections with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favorable to Charles for breaking the truce. [1449.] Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies: one commanded by the king himself; a second by the Duke of Brittany; a third by the Duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the Count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them: Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, Pont de l'Arche, fell in an instant into the hands of the enemy. The Duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was master, into Rouen, and thought it sufficient if, till the arrival of succors from England, he could save that capital from the general fate of the province. The King of France, at the head of a formidable army fifty thousand strong, presented himself before the gates; the dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants, and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist, at once, both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle, which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to surrender; he purchased a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and others places in the higher Normandy, and by delivering hostages for the performance of articles.⁵⁸ The governor of Honfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation. Harfleur made a better defence under Sir Thomas Curson, the governor, but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. [1450.] Succors at last appeared from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourg; but

⁵⁸ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 21. Grafton, p. 643.

these came very late, amounted only to four thousand men, and were soon after put to route, at Fourmigni, by the Count of Clermont.⁵⁹ This battle, or rather skirmish, was the only action fought by the English for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchased at such an expense of blood and treasure. Somerset, shut up in Cæn without any prospect of relief, found it necessary to capitulate; Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the Earl of Shrewsbury should be restored to liberty; and Cherbourg, the last place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom.⁶⁰

A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne, though the inhabitants of that province were, from long custom, better inclined to the English government. Dunois was despatched thither, and met with no resistance in the field and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been made, during this age, in the structure and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal than either before or since to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bourdeaux were reduced, that city agreed to submit if not relieved by a certain time; and as no one in England thought seriously of these distant concerns, no relief appeared; the place surrendered; and Bayonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II., was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne; and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government and fencing against the intrigues of his factious son, Lewis the dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them by availing himself of their intestine confusions.

⁵⁹ Hollingshed, p. 631.

⁶⁰ Grafton, p. 646.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLAIM OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE CROWN.—THE EARL OF WARWICK.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.—HIS BANISHMENT—AND DEATH.—POPULAR INSURRECTION.—THE PARTIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.—FIRST ARMAMENT OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBAN'S—BATTLE OF BLORE-HEATH—OF NORTHAMPTON.—A PARLIAMENT.—BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS.—SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBAN'S.—EDWARD IV. ASSUMES THE CROWN.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

A WEAK prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, how gentle soever and innocent, to be infested with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, these dangerous consequences began, from past experience, to be universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the situation of the neighboring states, were the more likely to excite intestine disorders, and, by their emulation, rivalry, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But though these causes alone were sufficient to breed confusion, there concurred another circumstance of the most dangerous nature: a pretender to the crown appeared; the title itself of the weak prince who enjoyed the name of sovereignty was disputed; and the English were now to pay the severe, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II., and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.

All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last Earl of March, having espoused the Earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard, Duke of York. This prince, thus descended, by his mother, from Philippa, only daughter of

the Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the Duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the Duke of York. Richard was a man of valor and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild disposition: he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France; and though recalled from that command by the intrigues and superior interest of the Duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland, had succeeded much better in that enterprise than his rival in the defence of Normandy, and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue.¹ In the right of his father he bore the rank first of prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, and those of Mortimer on the other; which last inheritance had before been augmented by a union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of March. The alliances, too, of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connections in that formidable order.

The family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time the most potent, both from their opulent possessions and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England. For, besides the Earl of Westmoreland and the Lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themselves, on many accounts, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The Earl of Salisbury, brother-in-law to the Duke of York, was the eldest son, by a second marriage, of the Earl of Westmoreland, and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, killed before Orleans, the possessions and title of that great family. His eldest son, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died Governor of France;

¹ Stowe, p. 387.

and by this alliance he enjoyed the possessions, and had acquired the title of that other family, one of the most opulent, most ancient, and most illustrious in England. The personal qualities also of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendor of their nobility and increased their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the *King-maker*, had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity, of his expense, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquests over men's affections the more certain and infallible; his presents were regarded as sure testimonies of esteem and friendship, and his professions as the overflowings of his genuine sentiments. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England; the military men, allured by his munificence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interests; the people in general bore him an unlimited affection; his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will than to the prince or to the laws; and he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons who formerly overawed the crown and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government.

But the Duke of York, besides the family of Nevil, had many other partisans among the great nobility. Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, descended from a very noble family of that name in France, was attached to his interests; Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, had, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaster, embraced the same party; and the discontents which universally prevailed among the people rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the established government.

Though the people were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions, and fancied, because a sudden irruption could make conquests, that, without steady counsels and a uniform expense, it was possible to maintain them. The voluntary cession of Maine to the Queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and

Guienne. They still considered Margaret as a French-woman, and a latent enemy of the kingdom. And when they saw her father and all her relations active in promoting the success of the French, they could not be persuaded that she, who was all-powerful in the English council, would very zealously oppose them in their enterprises.

But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was by the assassination of the virtuous Duke of Gloucester, whose character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partisans of York; but whose memory, being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family suffered a double prejudice: it was deprived of its firmest support, and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous assassination.

As the Duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamors which necessarily rose against him, as prime minister and declared favorite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became absolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to see a subject exalted above them; much more one who was only great grandson to a merchant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs. The people complained of his arbitrary measures, which were in some degree a necessary consequence of the irregular power then possessed by the prince, but which the least disaffection easily magnified into tyranny. The great acquisitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and as they were gained at the expense of the crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared, on that account, to all indifferent persons, the more exceptionable and invidious.

The revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry,² both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the necessary expenses of the French war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants of Parliament. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, a sum so great that the Parliament could never think of discharging it.

² Cotton, p. 609.

This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures: the household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people; the public clamor rose high upon this occasion, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice.

This nobleman, sensible of the public hatred under which he labored, and foreseeing an attack from the Commons, endeavored to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge, and by insisting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family in the public service. He rose in the House of Peers; took notice of the clamors propagated against him; and complained that, after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himself a prisoner, and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom, it should yet be suspected that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his services by the highest honors and greatest offices that it was in his power to confer.³ This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The Commons, rather provoked at his challenge, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the Peers an accusation of high-treason, divided into several articles. They insisted that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force in order to depose the king, and to place on the throne his own son, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John, Duke of Somerset, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown; that he had contributed to the release of the Duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would assist King Charles in expelling the English from France and recovering full possession of his kingdom; that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England and

³ Cotton, p. 641.

obstructing the succors intended to be sent to those provinces; and that he had, without any powers or commission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it, which proved, in the issue, the chief cause of the loss of Normandy.⁴

It is evident, from a review of these articles, that the Commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamors against the Duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible than that a nobleman so little eminent by his birth and character could think of acquiring the crown to his family, and of deposing Henry by foreign force, and, together with him, Margaret, his patron, a princess of so much spirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the House, who knew that he had intended to marry his son to one of the co-heirs of the Earl of Warwick, and was disappointed in his views only by the death of that lady; and he observed that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown, because she herself was not so much as comprehended in the entail settled by act of Parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guenne, from the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English ministers; and it may safely be affirmed that greater vigor was requisite to defend these provinces from the arms of Charles VII. than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions; much less of one who was so well established in his master's favor, who enjoyed such high honors and ample possessions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle; but Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by several at the council table;⁵ and it seems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the Commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French; Maine, an inland province, must

⁴ Cotton, p. 642. Hall, fol. 157. Hollingshed, p. 631. Grafton, p. 607.

⁵ Cotton, p. 643.

soon after have fallen without any attack ; and as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract their force, and to render the defence practicable by reducing it within a narrower compass.

The Commons were probably sensible that this charge of treason against Suffolk would not bear a strict scrutiny ; and they therefore, soon after, sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining iniquitous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders.⁶ The articles are mostly general, but are not improbable ; and as Suffolk seems to have been a bad man and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that he was guilty, and that many of these articles could have been proved against him. The court was alarmed at the prosecution of a favorite minister who lay under such a load of popular prejudices, and an expedient was fallen upon to save him from present ruin. The king summoned all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment ; the prisoner was produced before them, and asked what he could say in his own defence : he denied the charge, but submitted to the king's mercy. Henry expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason ; but in consideration of the second, for misdemeanors, he declared that, by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The Lords remained silent ; but as soon as they returned to their own House, they entered a protest that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges ; and that if Suffolk had insisted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his Peers in Parliament.

It was easy to see that these irregular proceedings were meant to favor Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's confidence, he would, on the first favorable opportunity, be restored to his country and be reinstated in his former power and credit. A captain of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France. He was seized near Dover, his head struck off on

⁶ Cotton, p. 643.

the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea.⁷ No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The Duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry and credit with the queen; and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The Duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and however it might be suspected that his partisans had excited and supported the prosecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, soon after, an incident which roused the jealousy of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretensions of that popular prince.

The humors of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of so great a favorite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent which was attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of the people, and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is supposed, to pass himself for a son of that Sir John Mortimer who had been sentenced to death by Parliament, and executed in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason given in against him.⁸ On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard, and he excited their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances. The court, not yet fully sensible of the danger, sent a small force against the rioters, under the

⁷ Hall, fol. 158. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 525. Stowe, p. 388. Grafton, p. 610.

⁸ Stowe, p. 364. Cotton, p. 564. This author admires that such a piece of injustice should have been committed in peaceable times; he might have added, and by such virtuous princes as Bedford and Gloucester. But it is to be presumed that Mortimer was guilty, though his condemnation was highly irregular and illegal. The people had, at this time, a very feeble sense of law and a constitution, and power was very imperfectly restrained by these limits. When the proceedings of a Parliament were so irregular, it is easy to imagine that those of a king would be more so.

command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoke;⁹ and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation; and sending to the court a plausible list of grievances,¹⁰ he promised that when these should be redressed, and when Lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council, who observed that nobody was willing to fight against men so reasonable in their pretensions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them into the fields during the night-time, and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind; but being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial,¹¹ he found that, after the commission of this crime, he was no longer master of their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were neglected.¹² They broke into a rich house, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them, and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter.¹³ The Kentish men were so discouraged by the blow that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence; a price was set on Cade's head,¹⁴ who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

It was imagined by the court that the Duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try, by that experiment, the dispositions of the people towards his title and family;¹⁵ and as the event had so far succeeded to his wish, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and fearing that he meant to bring an armed force

⁹ Hall, fol. 159. Hollingshed, p. 634.

¹⁰ Stowe, pp. 388, 389. Hollingshed, p. 633.

¹¹ Grafton, p. 612.

¹² Hall, fol. 160.

¹³ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 526.

¹⁴ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 275. ¹⁵ Cotton, p. 661. Stowe, p. 391.

along with him, they issued orders, in the king's name, for opposing him, and for debarring him entrance into England.¹⁶ But the Duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue; the precautions of the ministers served only to show him their jealousy and malignity against him; he was sensible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was also become dangerous to himself; he now saw the impossibility of remaining in his present situation, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partisans, therefore, were instructed to maintain, in all companies, his right by succession, and by the established laws and constitution of the kingdom; these questions became every day more and more the subject of conversation; the minds of men were insensibly sharpened against each other by disputes before they came to more dangerous extremities; and various topics were pleaded in support of the pretensions of each party.

The partisans of the house of Lancaster maintained that, though the elevation of Henry IV. might at first be deemed somewhat irregular, and could not be justified by any of those principles on which that prince chose to rest his title, it was yet founded on general consent, was a national act, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being loosened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a sense of public interest, to intrust the sceptre into the hands of their deliverer: that, even if that establishment were allowed to be at first invalid, it had acquired solidity by time, the only principle which ultimately gives authority to government, and removes those scruples which the irregular steps attending almost all revolutions naturally excite in the minds of the people: that the right of succession was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity and the subversion of regular establishments; that the principles of liberty, no less than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by these pretensions of the house of York; and if so many reiterated acts of the legislature by which the crown was entailed on the present family were now invalidated, the English must be considered not as a free people, who could dispose of their own government, but as a troop of slaves who were implicitly transmitted by succession from

¹⁶ Stowe, p. 394.

one master to another ; that the nation was bound to allegiance under the house of Lancaster by moral no less than by political duty ; and were they to infringe those numerous oaths of fealty which they had sworn to Henry and his predecessors, they would thenceforth be thrown loose from all principles, and it would be found difficult ever after to fix and restrain them : that the Duke of York himself had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful sovereign, and had thereby, in the most solemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of those claims with which he now dared to disturb the tranquillity of the public ; that even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the deposition of Richard, was perhaps rash and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the mischief ; the danger of a disputed succession could no longer be obviated ; the people, accustomed to a government which, in the hands of the late king, had been so glorious, and, in that of his predecessor, so prudent and salutary, would still ascribe a right to it ; by causing multiplied disorders, and by shedding an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another ; and the house of York itself, if established on the throne, would, on the first opportunity, be exposed to those revolutions which the giddy spirit excited in the people gave so much reason to apprehend : and that though the present king enjoyed not the shining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might still have a son who should be endowed with them ; he is himself eminent for the most harmless and inoffensive manners ; and if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain in the constitution no established rule of obedience to any sovereign.

These strong topics in favor of the house of Lancaster were opposed by arguments no less convincing on the side of the house of York. The partisans of this latter family asserted that the maintenance of order in the succession of princes, far from doing injury to the people or invalidating their fundamental title to good government, was established only for the purposes of government, and served to prevent those numberless confusions which must ensue if no rule were followed but the uncertain and disputed views of present convenience and advantage : that the same maxims which insured public peace were also salutary to national liberty ; the privileges of the people could only be main-

tained by the observance of laws; and if no account were made of the rights of the sovereign, it could less be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjust establishment, the longer it stood, acquired the greater sanction and validity; it could with more appearance of reason be pleaded as an authority for a like injustice; and the maintenance of it, instead of favoring public tranquillity, tended to disjoint every principle by which human society was supported: that usurpers would be happy if their present possession of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people if all restraints on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full scope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: that time, indeed, might bestow solidity on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect and the total extinction of those claimants whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution: that the deposition of Richard II. and the advancement of Henry IV. were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from those very defects in human nature which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: that the subsequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the same violence and usurpation; they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from present necessity, and implied no renunciation of their pretensions: that the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarized the people to revolutions, but as the correction of a former abuse, which had itself encouraged the giddy spirit of innovation, rebellion, and disobedience: and that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV. on present convenience, even this principle, unjustifiable as it was when not supported by laws and warranted by the constitution, had now entirely gone over to the other side; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers or by an imperious queen engaged in foreign and hos-

tile interests, and a prince of mature years, of approved wisdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration, would replace everything on ancient foundations.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides of this interesting question that the people were extremely divided in their sentiments; and though the noblemen of greatest power and influence seem to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The Earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government; the Earl of Westmoreland, in spite of his connections with the Duke of York and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party; and the whole North of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry were great supports of that cause; as were also Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this situation, it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent barons, possessed of so much independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms and have decided the quarrel, after their usual manner, by war and battle, under the standards of the contending princes. But there still were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities, and made a long train of faction, intrigue, and cabal precede the military operations. By the gradual progress of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance; laws were beginning to be respected by them; and it was requisite, by various pretences, previously to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of such an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The Duke of York himself, the new claimant, was of a moderate and cautious character, an enemy to violence, and disposed to trust rather to time and policy than to sanguinary measures for the success of his pretensions. The very imbecility itself

of Henry tended to keep the factions in suspense and make them stand long in awe of each other; it rendered the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow against their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope that, after banishing the king's ministers and getting possession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous expedient of a civil war, to change the succession by parliamentary and legal authority.

[1451.] The dispositions which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after the arrival of the Duke of York from Ireland favored these expectations of his partisans, and both discovered an unusual boldness in the Commons and were a proof of the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. The Lower House, without any previous inquiry or examination, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to present a petition against the Duke of Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Chester, Sir John Sutton, Lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them forever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court.¹⁷ This was a violent attack, somewhat arbitrary, and supported but by few precedents, against the ministry; yet the king durst not openly oppose it: he replied that, except the Lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their service in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time he rejected a bill, which had passed both Houses, for attainting the late Duke of Suffolk, and which, in several of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the measures of the court.

[1452.] The Duke of York, trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of ten thousand men, with which he marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government and the removal of the Duke of Somerset from all power and authority.¹⁸ He unexpectedly found the gates of the city shut against him, and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king at the head of a superior army, in which several of Richard's friends, particularly Salisbury and Warwick, appeared, probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of seconding, on occasion, the Duke of York's pretensions. A parley ensued: Richard still insisted upon the removal of Somer-

¹⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 263.

¹⁸ Stowe, p. 394.

set and his submitting to a trial in Parliament; the court pretended to comply with his demand, and that nobleman was put in arrest; the Duke of York was then persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge against the Duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become necessary, for his own safety, to lower his pretensions. No violence, however, was attempted against him: the nation was not in a disposition to bear the destruction of so popular a prince; he had many friends in Henry's camp; and his son, who was not in the power of the court, might still be able to revenge his death on all his enemies: he was therefore dismissed; and he retired to his seat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.¹⁹

While the Duke of York lived in this retreat there happened an incident which, by increasing the public discontents, proved favorable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords affectionate to the English government, and disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry.²⁰ The Earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of eight thousand men, was sent over to support them. [1453.] Bourdeaux opened its gates to him; he made himself master of Fronsac, Castillon, and some other places; affairs began to wear a favorable aspect; but as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior above fourscore years of age, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king;²¹ and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were forever extinguished.

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, and which they never could defend against the growing power of France, they expressed great discontent on the occasion; and they threw all the blame on the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities. While they were in this disposition, the queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and as it removed all hopes of the peaceable suc-

¹⁹ Grafton, p. 620.

²¹ Polyd. Verg. p. 501. Grafton, p. 623.

²⁰ Hollingshed, p. 640.

cession of the Duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and even when no visible obstacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party, and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of Parliament.²² That assembly, also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Men who thus intrusted sovereign authority to one that had such evident and strong pretensions to the crown were not surely averse to his taking immediate and full possession of it; yet the duke, instead of pushing them to make farther concessions, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He desired that it might be recorded in Parliament that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part; he expressed his hopes that they would assist him in the exercise of it; he made it a condition of his acceptance that the other lords who were appointed to be of his council should also accept of the trust, and should exercise it; and he required that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of Parliament. [1454.] This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad consequences in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the animosities of faction to rise and ferment, it proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

[1455.] The enemies of the Duke of York soon found it in their power to make advantage of his excessive caution. Henry being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, they moved him to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of

²² Rymer, vol. xi. p. 344.

the duke, to release Somerset from the Tower,²² and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commission should he submit to the annulling of it, levied an army, but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Alban's, in which the Yorkists were superior, and, without suffering any material loss, slew about five thousand of their enemies, among whom were the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction.²⁴ The king himself fell into the hands of the Duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness; he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.

This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which at that time men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered as a point of honor, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities: the nation was kept some time in suspense; the vigor and spirit of Queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irresolute temper. A Parliament which was soon after assembled plainly discovered, by the contrariety of their proceedings, the contrariety of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkists a general indemnity, and they restored the protectorship to the duke, who, in accepting it, still persevered in all his former precautions; but at the same time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to the majority of his son

²³ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 361. Hollingshed, 642. Grafton, 626.

²⁴ Stowe, p. 309. Hollingshed, p. 643.

Edward, who was vested with the usual dignities of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. The only decisive act passed in this Parliament was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V., and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

[1456.] It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as those of the Duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince's absence, produced her husband before the House of Lords; and, as his state of health permitted him, at that time, to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This measure, being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party; the House of Lords, who were, many of them, disgusted with the late act of resumption, assented to Henry's proposal, and the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the Duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the Peers; and no disturbance ensued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it were too evident, ever to allow sincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick to attend the king's person. [1457.] When they were on the road, they received intelligence that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves. Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore; Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Alban's, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance in the present juncture. Still men of peaceable dispositions, and among the rest Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpose with their good offices in order to prevent that effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened; and the awe in which each party stood of the other rendered the mediation for some time successful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London and be solemnly reconciled. [1458.] The Duke of York and his partisans came thither with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near

each other for mutual security. The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the same precaution. The mayor, at the head of five thousand men, kept a strict watch night and day, and was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them.²⁵ Terms were adjusted which removed not the ground of difference. An outward reconciliation only was procured; and, in order to notify this accord to the whole people, a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, where the Duke of York led Queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The less real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident that a contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated; that each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and that much blood must yet be spilt ere the nation could be restored to perfect tranquillity or enjoy a settled and established government.

Even the smallest accident, without any formed design, was sufficient, in the present disposition of men's minds, to dissolve the seeming harmony between the parties; [1459.] and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it difficult to restrain the animosity of their followers. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the Earl of Warwick's; their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat ensued; the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at; he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and arms.

The Earl of Salisbury, marching to join the Duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by Lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces; and a small rivulet with steep banks ran between the armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers by stratagem—a refinement of which there occur few instances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation; but when the van of the royal army had passed the brooks, Salisbury suddenly turned upon

²⁵ Fabian Chron. anno 1458. The author says that some lords brought nine hundred retainers, some six hundred, none less than four hundred. See also Grafton, p. 633.

them, and partly by the surprise, partly by the division of the enemy's forces, put this body to rout. The example of flight was followed by the rest of the army; and Salisbury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow.²⁶

The Earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occasioned, in the issue, the immediate ruin of the Duke of York's party. When the royal army approached and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day without striking a stroke.²⁷ The duke fled to Ireland; the Earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders, escaped to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, soon drew to him partisans and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the house of York in England kept themselves everywhere in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders.

After meeting with some successes at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York; [1460.] and being met by the primate, by Lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people, to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton, and was soon decided against the royalists by the infidelity of Lord Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the enemy during the heat of action, and spread a consternation through the troops. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie were killed in the action or pursuit; the slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility; the common people were spared by orders of the Earls of Warwick and March.²⁸ Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again taken pris-

²⁶ Hollingshed, p. 649. Grafton, p. 936.

²⁷ Hollingshed, p. 650. Grafton, p. 537.

²⁸ Stowe, p. 409.

oner; and as the innocence and simplicity of his manners, which bore the appearance of sanctity, had procured him the tender regard of the people,²⁹ the Earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanor towards him.

A Parliament was summoned in the king's name, and met at Westminster, where the duke soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown: he had only complained of ill ministers and demanded a redress of grievances; and even in the present crisis, when the Parliament was surrounded by his victorious army, he showed such a regard to law and liberty as is unusual during the prevalence of a party in any civil dissensions, and was still less to be expected in those violent and licentious times. He advanced towards the throne; and being met by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him whether he had yet paid his respects to the king, he replied that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then stood near the throne,³⁰ and, addressing himself to the House of Peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by descent, mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to sovereign power, insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry, exhorted them to return into the right path by doing justice to the lineal successor, and thus pleaded his cause before them, as his natural and legal judges.³¹ This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown intimidated his friends and encouraged his enemies, the Lords remained in suspense;³² and no one ventured to utter a word on the occasion. Richard, who had probably expected that the Peers would have invited him to place himself on the throne, was much disappointed at their silence; but desiring them to reflect on what he had proposed to them, he departed the House. The Peers took the matter into consideration with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate; they desired the assistance of some considerable members among the Commons in their deliberations; they heard, in several successive days, the reasons alleged for the Duke of York; they even ventured to propose objections to his claim founded on former entails of the crown,

²⁹ Hall, fol. 169. Grafton, p. 195.

³¹ Cotton, p. 665. Grafton, p. 643.

³⁰ Hollingshed, p. 655.

³² Hollingshed, p. 657. Grafton, p. 645.

and on the oaths of fealty sworn to the house of Lancaster ;³³ they also observed that, as Richard had all along borne the arms of York, not those of Clarence, he could not claim as successor to the latter family ; and after receiving answers to these objections, derived from the violence and power by which the house of Lancaster supported their present possession of the crown, they proceeded to give a decision. Their sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared the title of the Duke of York to be certain and indefeasible ; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of thirty-eight years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life ; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with Richard ; that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy ; that every one should swear to maintain his succession, and it should be treason to attempt his life ; and that all former settlements of the crown, in this and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded.³⁴ The duke acquiesced in this decision ; Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it ; even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance against it ; and the act thus passed with the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the Duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks of a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority enjoyed by Parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the Commons a settlement more consistent and uniform ; but as many, if not all, the members of the Upper House had received grants, concessions, or dignities during the last sixty years, when the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government, they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too sudden and violent an overthrow of that family ; and in thus temporizing between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to arise from the genius and spirit of Queen Margaret, sought a pretence for banishing her the kingdom : he sent her, in the king's name,

³³ Cotton, p. 666.³⁴ *Ibid.* Grafton, p. 647.

a summons to come immediately to London, intending, in case of her disobedience, to proceed to extremities against her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton, she fled with her infant son to Durham, thence to Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled, her caresses, her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her; the admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition; the nobility of that quarter, who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown and settle the government; and that they might allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the provinces on the other side of the Trent. By these means the queen had collected an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

The Duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of five thousand men to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy. He threw himself into Sandal castle, which was situated in the neighborhood; and he was advised by the Earl of Salisbury and other prudent counsellors to remain in that fortress till his son, the Earl of March, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance.³⁵ But the duke, though deficient in political courage, possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree; and notwithstanding his wisdom and experience, he thought that he should be forever disgraced if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was sufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain and undisputed. The duke himself was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off, by Margaret's

³⁵ Stowe, p. 412.

orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it in derision of his pretended title. His son, the Earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brought to Lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Alban's, murdered, in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable. The Earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law, at Pomfret.³⁶ There fell near three thousand Yorkists in this battle; the duke himself was greatly and justly lamented by his own party—a prince who merited a better fate, and whose errors in conduct proceeded entirely from such qualities as render him the more an object of esteem and affection. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

—The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, against Edward, the new Duke of York. [1461.] She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the Earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men; his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation.³⁷

Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the Earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many instances in those civil wars, decided the victory in favor of the queen. About two thousand three hundred of the vanquished perished in the battle

³⁶ Polyd. Verg. p. 510.

³⁷ Hollingshed, p. 660. Grafton, p. 650.

and pursuit, and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was sure to be almost equally a prisoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by one than by the other in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been intrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner.³⁸ Sir Thomas Kyriel, a brave warrior, who had signalized himself in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

The queen made no great advantage of this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other side, and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north.³⁹ Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favor that, elated with the spirit natural to his age, he resolved no longer to confine himself within those narrow limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and which had been found, by experience, so prejudicial to his cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But as a national consent, or the appearance of it, still seemed, notwithstanding his plausible title, requisite to precede this bold measure, and as the assembling of a Parliament might occasion too many delays and be attended with other inconveniences, he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; a harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then asked whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for king.

³⁸ Hollingshed, p. 660.

³⁹ Grafton, p. 652.

They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late Duke of York. They expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations.⁴⁰ A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was, on the subsequent day, proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.⁴¹

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI., a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who was utterly incapable of exercising his authority, and who, provided he personally met with good usage, was equally easy, as he was equally enslaved, in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities; but whether his queen and his ministers were not also guilty of some great abuses of power it is not easy for us, at this distance of time, to determine. There remain no proofs on record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the Duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the usual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

The most remarkable law which passed in this reign was that for the due election of members of Parliament in counties. After the fall of the feudal system, the distinction of tenures was in some measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation (for such it may probably be esteemed) was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry IV.,⁴² which gave right to such a multitude of electors as was the occasion of great disorder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were enacted limiting the electors to such as possessed forty shillings a year in land, free from all burdens, within the county.⁴³ This sum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our present money; and it

⁴⁰ Stowe, p. 415. Hollingshed, p. 661.

⁴¹ Grafton, p. 653.

⁴² Statutes at Large, 7 Henry IV. cap. 15.

⁴³ Statutes at Large, 8 Henry VI. cap. 7. 10 Henry VI. cap. 2.

were to be wished that the spirit as well as letter of this law had been maintained.

The preamble of the statute is remarkable: "Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and excessive numbers of people, many of them of small substance and value, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires; whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen, and other people of the same counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf," etc. We may learn from these expressions what an important matter the election of a member of Parliament was now become in England; that assembly was beginning in this period to assume great authority: the Commons had it much in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and if they failed of success in this particular, it proceeded less from any exorbitant power of the crown than from the licentious spirit of the aristocracy, and perhaps from the rude education of the age and their own ignorance of the advantages resulting from a regular administration of justice.

When the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, fled the kingdom upon the desertion of their troops, a Parliament was summoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This Parliament seems to have been very irregularly constituted, and scarcely deserves the name; insomuch that an act passed in it "that all such knights of any county as were returned by virtue of the king's letters, without any other election, should be valid, and that no sheriff should, for returning them, incur the penalty of the statute of Henry IV." ⁴⁴ All the acts of that Parliament were afterwards reversed, "because it was unlawfully summoned, and the knights and barons not duly chosen." ⁴⁵

The Parliaments in this reign, instead of relaxing their vigilance against the usurpations of the court of Rome, endeavored to enforce the former statutes enacted for that purpose. The Commons petitioned that no foreigner should be capable of any Church preferment, and that the patron might be allowed to present anew upon the non-residence of any incumbent. ⁴⁶ But the king eluded these petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a severe letter against the statute of provisors, which he calls an abominable law, that would infal-

⁴⁴ Cotton, p. 664.

⁴⁶ Cotton, p. 585.

⁴⁵ Statutes at Large, 39 Henry VI. cap. 1.

libly damn every one who observed it.⁴⁷ The Cardinal of Winchester was legate; and as he was also a kind of prime minister, and immensely rich from the profits of his clerical dignities, the Parliament became jealous lest he should extend the papal power, and they protested that the cardinal should absent himself in all affairs and councils of the king whenever the pope or see of Rome was touched upon.⁴⁸

Permission was given by Parliament to export corn when it was at low prices: wheat at six shillings and eightpence a quarter, money of that age; barley at three shillings and fourpence.⁴⁹ It appears from these prices that corn still remained at near half its present value, though other commodities were much cheaper. The inland commerce of corn was also opened in the eighteenth of the king, by allowing any collector of the customs to grant a license for carrying it from one county to another.⁵⁰ The same year a kind of navigation act was proposed with regard to all places within the Straits, but the king rejected it.⁵¹

The first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security occurs in this reign.⁵² The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted—a practice the more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation.

⁴⁷ Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. i. p. 99.

⁴⁸ Cotton, p. 593.

⁴⁹ Statutes at Large, 15 Henry VI. cap. 2. 23 Henry VI. cap. 6.

⁵⁰ Cotton, p. 625.

⁵¹ Cotton, p. 626.

⁵² Cotton, pp. 593 634, 638.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD IV.

BATTLE OF TOUTON.—HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND.—A PARLIAMENT.—BATTLE OF HEXHAM.—HENRY TAKEN PRISONER, AND CONFINED IN THE TOWER.—THE KING'S MARRIAGE WITH LADY ELIZABETH GRAY.—WARWICK DISGUSTED.—ALLIANCE WITH BURGUNDY.—INSURRECTION IN YORKSHIRE.—BATTLE OF BANBURY.—WARWICK AND CLARENCE BANISHED.—WARWICK AND CLARENCE RETURN.—EDWARD IV. EXPELLED.—HENRY VI. RESTORED.—EDWARD IV. RETURNS.—BATTLE OF BARNET AND DEATH OF WARWICK.—BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY AND MURDER OF PRINCE EDWARD.—DEATH OF HENRY VI.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE OF PECQUIGNI.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the tumultuary election of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigor in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. A tradesman of London, who kept a shop at the sign of the crown, having said that he would make his son heir to the crown, this harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's assumed title, and he was condemned and executed for the offence.¹ Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which ensued. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the

¹ Habington in Kennet, p. 431. Grafton, p. 791.

quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party: the partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

The license in which Queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops infused great terror and aversion into the city of London and all the southern parts of the kingdom; and as she there expected an obstinate resistance, she had prudently retired northwards among her own partisans. The same license, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her standard, and she was able, in a few days, to assemble an army, sixty thousand strong, in Yorkshire. The king and the Earl of Warwick hastened, with an army of forty thousand men, to check her progress; and when they reached Pomfret, they despatched a body of troops, under the command of Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him, but was not able to maintain it against Lord Clifford, who attacked him with superior numbers. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter, and Lord Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action.² The Earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army, and, kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier;³ and, to show the greater security, a proclamation was at the same time issued giving to every one full liberty to retire, but menacing the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle.⁴ Lord Falconberg was sent to recover the post which had been lost; he passed the river some miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on Lord Clifford, revenged the former disaster by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader.⁵

The hostile armies met at Touton, and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge there happened a great fall of snow, which,

² W. Wyrcester, p. 489. Hall, fol. 186. Hollingshed, p. 664.

³ Habington, p. 432. ⁴ Hollingshed, p. 664. ⁵ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 532.

driving full in the faces of their enemies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of Lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of flight-arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they were gotten within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists.⁶ After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward advanced his line and did execution with impunity on the dismayed Lancastrians. The bow, however, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter.⁷ The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster, with great bloodshed and confusion, and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit;⁸ among these were the Earl of Westmoreland and his brother, Sir John Nevil, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop.⁹ The Earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward, and was soon after beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of Duke Richard and that of the Earl of Salisbury were taken down and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the Duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's sister, had taken part with the Lancastrians, and by Henry, Duke of Somerset, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Tooton, and who was the son of that nobleman killed in the first battle of St. Alban's.

Notwithstanding the great animosity which prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland had never exerted itself with vigor to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I., more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects and tam-

⁶ Hall, fol. 186.

⁷ Habington, p. 432.

⁸ Hollingshed, p. 665. Grafton, p. 656. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 533.

⁹ Hall, fol. 187. Habington, p. 433.

ing them to the salutary yoke of law and justice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations; and though he seemed interested to maintain a balance between France and England, he gave no farther assistance to the former kingdom, in its greatest distresses, than permitting, and perhaps encouraging, his subjects to enlist in the French service. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his son and successor, James II., and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority visibly acquired by France rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interpose in her defence. But when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and became absolutely incurable but by the total extinction of one party, James, who had now risen to man's estate, was tempted to seize the opportunity, and he endeavored to recover those places which the English had formerly conquered from his ancestors. He laid siege to the castle of Roxborough in 1460, and had provided himself with a small train of artillery for that enterprise; but his cannon were so ill framed that one of them burst as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His son and successor, James III., was also a minor on his accession. The usual distractions ensued in the government; the queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency; the family of Douglas opposed her pretensions; and Queen Margaret, when she fled into Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those by whom she had been expelled. Though she pleaded the connections between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the Earl of Somerset, she could engage the Scottish council to go no farther than to express their good wishes in her favor; but on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of King James, she found a better reception, and the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne.¹⁰ But as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat, but returned to London, where a Parliament was summoned for settling the government.

On the meeting of this assembly, Edward found the good effects of his vigorous measure in assuming the crown,

¹⁰ Hall, fol. 137. Habington p. 434.

as well as of his victory at Tooton, by which he had secured it. The Parliament no longer hesitated between the two families, or proposed any of those ambiguous decisions which could only serve to perpetuate and inflame the animosities of party. They recognized the title of Edward by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer, and declared that he was king by right from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people.¹¹ They expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation and intrusion of the house of Lancaster, particularly that of the Earl of Derby, otherwise called Henry IV., which, they said, had been attended with every kind of disorder, the murder of the sovereign, and the oppression of the subject. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns; they reinstated the king in all the possessions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended deposition of Richard II.; and though they confirmed judicial deeds and the decrees of inferior courts, they reversed all attainders passed in any pretended Parliament, particularly the attainder of the Earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather, as well as that of the Earls of Salisbury and Gloucester, and of Lord Lumley, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II.¹²

Many of these votes were the result of the usual violence of party; the common-sense of mankind, in more peaceable times, repealed them; and the statutes of the house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The Parliament, however, in subverting such deep foundations, had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis; but, in their subsequent measures, they were more guided by revenge, at least by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. They passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and Queen Margaret and their infant son, Prince Edward. The same act was extended to the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter; to the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the Viscount Beaumont; the Lords Roos, Neville, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmond Mountford, John

¹¹ Cotton, p. 670.

¹² Cotton, p. 672. Statutes at Large, 1 Edward IV. cap. 1.

Hieron, and many other persons of distinction.¹³ The Parliament vested the estates of all these attainted persons in the crown, though their sole crime was the adhering to a prince whom every individual of the Parliament had long recognized, and whom that very king himself who was now seated on the throne had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful sovereign.

The necessity of supporting the government established will more fully justify some other acts of violence, though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John, Earl of Oxford, and his son, Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, were condemned and executed.¹⁴ Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery were convicted in the same arbitrary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil government was a high strain of prerogative, which, were it not for the violence of the times, would probably have appeared exceptionable to a nation so jealous of their liberties as the English were now become.¹⁵ It was impossible but such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or, in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them. The latter was more suitable to the genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

But the new establishment still seemed precarious and uncertain, not only from the domestic discontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had succeeded to his father, Charles, in 1460, and was led, from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbors, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itself: having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vassals, he had excited such an opposition at home as prevented him from making all the advantage which the opportunity afforded of the dissensions among the English. [1462.] He sent, however, a small body to Henry's assistance under Varenne, seneschal of Normandy,¹⁶ who landed in Northumberland and got posses-

¹³ Cotton, p. 670. W. Wyrester, p. 490.

¹⁴ W. Wyrester, p. 492. Hall, fol. 189. Grafton, p. 658. Fabian, fol. 215. *Fragm. ad finem T. Spotti.*

¹⁵ See note [L] at the end of the volume.

¹⁶ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 95.

sion of the castle of Alnewic ; but as the indefatigable Margaret went in person to France, where she solicited larger supplies, and promised Lewis to deliver up Calais if her family should by his means be restored to the throne of England, he was induced to send along with her a body of two thousand men at arms, which enabled her to take the field and to make an inroad into England. [1464.] Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster, she received a check at Hedgelymore from Lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and warden of the east marches between Scotland and England. Montague was so encouraged with this success that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham ; and he obtained a complete victory over them. The Duke of Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary justice was in like manner executed at Newcastle on Sir Humphrey Nevil and several other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold ; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party—a conduct which received but too plausible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancastrians.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family after this defeat was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavored to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them ; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword, and, finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him, and, presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, “Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king’s son.” The man, whose

humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him, and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service.¹⁷ By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower.¹⁸ The safety of his person was owing less to the generosity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government, whose title by blood, being now recognized by Parliament and universally submitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached by any antagonist. In this prosperous situation, the king delivered himself up, without control, to those pleasures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were less attended to than the dissipation of amusement or the allurements of passion. The cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward, though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, was, at the same time, extremely devoted to the softer passions, which, without mitigating his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him, and shared his attachment with the pursuits of ambition and the thirst of military glory. During the present interval of peace he lived in the most familiar and sociable manner with his subjects,¹⁹ particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which, even unassisted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favor. This easy and pleasurable course of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks

¹⁷ Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 96.

¹⁸ Hall, fol. 191. *Fragm. ad finem Sprotti.*

¹⁹ Polyd. Verg. p. 513. Biondi.

of men ; he was the peculiar favorite of the young and gay of both sexes. The disposition of the English, little addicted to jealousy, kept them from taking umbrage at these liberties ; and his indulgence in amusements, while it gratified his inclination, was thus become, without design, a means of supporting and securing his government. But as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within strict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a snare which proved fatal to his repose and to the stability of his throne.

Jaqueline of Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, so far sacrificed her ambition to love that she espoused, in second marriage, Sir Richard Woodeville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children ; and among the rest Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had children ; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father, at his seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house, after a hunting party, in order to pay a visit to the Duchess of Bedford ; and as the occasion seemed favorable for obtaining some grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herself at his feet, and, with many tears, entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward ; love stole insensibly into his heart under the guise of compassion ; and her sorrow, so becoming a virtuous matron, made his esteem and regard quickly correspond to his affection. He raised her from the ground with assurances of favor ; he found his passion increase every moment by the conversation of the amiable object ; and he was soon reduced, in his turn, to the posture and style of a suppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, either averse to dishonorable love, from a sense of duty, or perceiving that the impression which she had made was so deep as to give her hopes of obtaining the highest elevation, obstinately refused to gratify his passion ; and all the endearments, caresses and importunities of the young and amiable Edward proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, irritated by opposition and increased by his veneration for

such honorable sentiments, carried him, at last, beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person and dignity of character seemed so well to entitle her to both. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton.²⁰ The secret was carefully kept for some time; no one suspected that so libertine a prince could sacrifice so much to a romantic passion; and there were, in particular, strong reasons which at that time rendered this step, to the highest degree, dangerous and imprudent.

The king, desirous to secure his throne as well by the prospect of issue as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to some neighboring princess; and he had cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, insure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negotiation more successful, the Earl of Warwick had been despatched to Paris, where the princess then resided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England.²¹ But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted both by being employed in this fruitless negotiation and by being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, who had owed everything to his friendship, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of passion over so young a man as Edward might have served as an excuse for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error or had pleaded his weakness as an apology; but his faulty shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwick, and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court full of the same ill-humor and discontent which he brought to it.

[1466.] Every incident now tended to widen the breach between the king and this powerful subject. The queen, who lost not her influence by marriage, was equally solicitous to draw every grace and favor to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of the earl, whom she regarded

²⁰ Hall, fol. 193. Fabian, fol. 216.

²¹ Hall, fol. 193. Habington, p. 437. Hollingshed, p. 667. Grafton, p. 665. Polyd. Verg. p. 513.

as her mortal enemy. Her father was created Earl of Rivers; he was made treasurer in the room of Lord Mountjoy; ²² he was invested in the office of constable for life; and his son received the survivance of that high dignity.²³ The same young nobleman was married to the only daughter of Lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catherine, the queen's sister, was married to the young Duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown; ²⁴ Mary, another of her sisters, espoused William Herbert, created Earl of Huntingdon; Anne, a third sister, was given in marriage to the son and heir of Gray, Lord Ruthyn, created Earl of Kent.²⁵ The daughter and heir of the Duke of Exeter, who was also the king's niece, was contracted to Sir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's sons by her former husband; and as Lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his son and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was deemed an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.

The Earl of Warwick could not suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which, he thought, he had merited by such important services. Though he had received so many grants from the crown that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his patrimonial estate, to eighty thousand crowns a year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines,²⁶ his ambitious spirit was still dissatisfied as long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence with the king.²⁷ Edward, also, jealous of that power which had supported him and which he himself had contributed still higher to exalt, was well pleased to raise up rivals in credit to the Earl of Warwick; and he justified, by this political view, his extreme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodevilles,²⁸ were more inclined to take part with Warwick's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. And as Edward obtained from Parliament a general resumption of all grants which he had made since his accession, and which had extremely impoverished the crown,²⁹ this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favor of the Earl of Warwick, gave a

²² W. Wyrcester, p. 506.

²³ Rymor, vol. xi. p. 581.

²⁴ W. Wyrcester, p. 550.

²⁵ W. Wyrcester, p. 506.

²⁶ Liv. iii. chap. 4.

²⁷ Polyd. Verg. p. 514.

²⁸ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 539.

²⁹ W. Wyrcester, p. 508.

general alarm to the nobility, and disgusted many, even zealous partisans of the family of York.

But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party was George, Duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less injured than the other grandees by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing, while theirs were fully established, this neglect, joined to his unquiet and restless spirit, inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents.³⁰ The favorable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the Earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter and co-heir of his immense fortunes; a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl.³¹ Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foresee the extremities to which they might be carried; and, as opposition to government was usually, in those ages, prosecuted by force of arms, civil convulsions and disorders were likely to be soon the result of these intrigues and confederacies.

While this cloud was gathering at home, Edward carried his views abroad, and endeavored to secure himself against his factious nobility by entering into foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI., the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbors and vassals; and as it was supported by great abilities and unrestrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was now dead; his rich and extensive dominions were devolved to Charles, his only son, whose martial disposition acquired him the surname of *Bold*, and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with a more favorable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animosity between these bad princes; and Edward was thus secure of the sincere attachment of either of them for

³⁰ Grafton, p. 673.

³¹ W. Wyrcester, p. 511. Hall, fol. 200. Habington, p. 439. Hollingshed, p. 671. Polyd. Verg. p. 515.

whom he should choose to declare himself. The Duke of Burgundy, being descended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favor the house of Lancaster;³² but this consideration was easily overbalanced by political motives; and Charles, perceiving the interests of that house to be extremely decayed in England, sent over his natural brother, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry, in his name, proposals of marriage to Margaret, the king's sister. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations invited the princes to a close union; their common jealousy of Lewis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent a confederate, soon concluded the alliance, and bestowed his sister upon Charles.³³ [1468.] A league which Edward at the same time concluded with the Duke of Brittany seemed both to increase his security and to open to him the prospect of rivalling his predecessors in those foreign conquests which, however short-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns so popular and illustrious.³⁴

[1469.] But whatever ambitious schemes the king might have built on these alliances, they were soon frustrated by intestine commotions, which engrossed all his attention. These disorders probably arose not immediately from the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick, but from accident, aided by the turbulent spirit of the age, by the general humor of discontent which that popular nobleman had instilled into the nation, and perhaps by some remains of attachment to the house of Lancaster. The hospital of St. Leonard's, near York, had received, from an ancient grant of King Athelstane, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and as these charitable establishments are liable to abuse, the country people complained that the revenue of the hospital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was secreted by the managers and employed to their private purposes. After long repining at the contribution, they refused payment. Ecclesiastical and civil censures were issued against them, their goods were distrained, and their persons thrown into jail; till, as their ill-humor daily increased, they rose in arms; fell upon the officers of the hospital, whom they put

³² Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4, 6.

³³ Hall, fol. 169, 197.

³⁴ W. Wyrcester, p. 5. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 332.

to the sword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in those parts, opposed himself to their progress; and having been so fortunate in a skirmish as to seize Robert Hilderne, their leader, he ordered him immediately to be led to execution, according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still continued in arms; and being soon headed by men of greater distinction, Sir Henry Nevil, son of Lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, they advanced southwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered by Edward to march against them at the head of a body of Welshmen; and he was joined by five thousand archers, under the command of Stafford, Earl of Devonshire, who had succeeded in that title to the family of Courtney, which had also been attainted. But, a trivial difference about quarters having begotten an animosity between these two noblemen, the Earl of Devonshire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. The two armies approached each other near Banbury; and Pembroke, having prevailed in a skirmish, and having taken Sir Henry Nevil prisoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of process. This execution enraged without terrifying the rebels; they attacked the Welsh army, routed them, put them to the sword without mercy; and having seized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the Earl of Devonshire, who had deserted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like summary manner. But these speedy executions, or rather open murders, did not stop there; the northern rebels, sending a party to Grafton, seized the Earl of Rivers and his son John—men who had become obnoxious by their near relation to the king and his partiality towards them—and they were immediately executed by orders from Sir John Coniers.³⁵

There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of the wars between the two roses: historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records;³⁶ and it is remarkable that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of

³⁵ Fabian, fol. 217.

³⁶ See note [M] at the end of the volume.

the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonorable conduct in all parties. There is no possibility, for instance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the Earl of Warwick at this time. It is agreed that he resided, together with his son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion, and that his brother Montague acted with vigor against the northern rebels. We may thence presume that the insurrection had not proceeded from the secret counsels and instigation of Warwick; though the murder committed by the rebels on the Earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent presumption against him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their service to Edward, were received without any suspicion, were intrusted by him in the highest commands,³⁷ and still persevered in their fidelity. Soon after we find the rebels quieted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of the Earl of Warwick; but why so courageous a prince, if secure of Warwick's fidelity, should have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of such violent and personal outrages against him, is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, should have endeavored to appease a rebellion of which he was able to make such advantages. But it appears that, after this insurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honors and favors of the highest nature: he made Lord Montague a marquis by the same name; he created his son George Duke of Bedford;³⁸ he publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who, as he had yet no sons, was presumptive heir of the crown; yet we find that soon after, being invited to a feast by the Archbishop of York, a younger brother of Warwick and Montague, he entertained a sudden suspicion that they intended to seize his person or to murder him, and he abruptly left the entertainment.³⁹

[1470.] Soon after there broke out another rebellion, which is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly because no sufficient reason is assigned for it, and because,

³⁷ Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 647, 649, 650.

³⁹ Fragm. Edward IV. ad finem Sprotti.

³⁸ Cotton, p. 702.

so far as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by Sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to thirty thousand men; but Lord Welles himself, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a sanctuary in order to secure his person against the king's anger or suspicions. He was allured from this retreat by a promise of safety; and was soon after, notwithstanding this assurance, beheaded, along with Sir Thomas Dymoc, by orders from Edward.⁴⁰ The king fought a battle with the rebels, defeated them, took Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas Launde prisoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

Edward, during these transactions, had entertained so little jealousy of the Earl of Warwick or Duke of Clarence that he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels;⁴¹ but these malcontents, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures, and they retired northwards into Lancashire, where they expected to be joined by Lord Stanley, who had married the Earl of Warwick's sister. But as that nobleman refused all concurrence with them, and as Lord Montague also remained quiet in Yorkshire, they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked and made sail towards Calais.⁴²

The deputy-governor whom Warwick had left at Calais was one Vaucler, a Gascon, who, seeing the earl return in this miserable condition, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the Duchess of Clarence to land, though a few days before she had been delivered on shipboard of a son, and was at that time extremely disordered by sickness. With difficulty he would allow a few flagons of wine to be carried to the ship for the use of the ladies; but as he was a man of sagacity, and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was subject, he secretly apologized to Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as

⁴⁰ Hall, fol. 204. Fabian, fol. 218. Habington, p. 442. Hollingshed, p. 674.

⁴¹ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 652.

⁴² The king offered by proclamation a reward of one thousand pounds, or one hundred pounds a year in land, to any that would seize them. Whence we may learn that land was at that time sold for about ten years' purchase. See Rymer, vol. xi. p. 654.

proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He said that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions ; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison ; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government ; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand and that of the Duke of Burgundy on the other ; and that, by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should become safe and prudent, to restore Calais to its ancient master.⁴³ It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with this apology or suspected a double infidelity in Vaucler, but he feigned to be entirely convinced by him, and, having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made sail towards France.

The King of France, uneasy at the close conjunction between Edward and the Duke of Burgundy, received with the greatest demonstrations of regard the unfortunate Warwick,⁴⁴ with whom he had formerly maintained a secret correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England and re-establishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that house and the Earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret ; he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all their most zealous partisans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that such inveterate rancor could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name when he took arms against Edward ; and he rather endeavored to prevail by means of his own adherents than revive a party which he sincerely hated. But his present distresses and the entreaties of Lewis made him hearken to terms of accommodation ; and Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was, from common interest, soon concluded between them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry and endeavor to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne ; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be intrusted conjointly to the

⁴³ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. Hall, fol. 205.

⁴⁴ Polyd. Verg. p. 519.

Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence; that Prince Edward should marry the Lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the Duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of King Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural or more evidently the work of necessity; but Warwick hoped that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political views, and that, at worst, the independent power of his family and the affections of the people would suffice to give him security and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of Prince Edward with the Lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this purpose he sent over a lady of great sagacity and address who belonged to the train of the Duchess of Clarence, and who, under color of attending her mistress, was empowered to negotiate with the duke, and to renew the connections of that prince with his own family.⁴⁵ She represented to Clarence that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had thrown himself entirely in the power of his most inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had suffered from the other were now past all forgiveness, and no imaginary union of interests could ever suffice to obliterate them; that, even if the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents would prevent a sincere coalition of parties, and would, in spite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preserve an eternal opposition of measures between them; and that a prince who deserted his own kindred and joined the murderers of his father left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one-and-twenty years of age, and seems to have possessed but a slender capacity; yet could he easily see the force of these reasons; and, upon the promise of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favorable opportunity, to desert the Earl of Warwick and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negotiation Warwick was secretly carrying

⁴⁵ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 207. Hollingshed, p. 675.

on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother, the Marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, resolved, on his side, to watch a favorable opportunity for committing *his* perfidy, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

After these mutual snares were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced apace. Lewis prepared a fleet to escort the Earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money.⁴⁶ The Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, enraged at that nobleman for his seizure of the Flemish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the channel; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed. But Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger; he made no suitable preparations against the Earl of Warwick; ⁴⁷ he even said that the Duke might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick set foot on English ground.⁴⁸ A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all sound reason and reflection.

The event soon happened of which Edward seemed so desirous. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwick.⁴⁹ That nobleman seized the opportunity, and, setting sail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops; while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by Lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwick,⁵⁰ the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his

⁴⁶ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. Hall, fol. 207.

⁴⁷ Grafton, p. 687.

⁴⁸ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 208.

⁴⁹ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5.

⁵⁰ Hall, fol. 205.

standard that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the Duke of Clarence from executing *his* plan of treachery, and the Marquis of Montague had here the opportunity of striking the first blow. He communicated the design to his adherents, who promised him their concurrence; they took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters: the king was alarmed at the noise, and, starting from bed, heard the cry of war usually employed by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his escape by speedy flight from an army where he had so many concealed enemies, and where few seemed zealously attached to his service. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynn in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked.⁵¹ And after this manner, the Earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Easterlings, or Hanse-towns, were then at war both with France and England; and some ships of these people, hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels and gave chase to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his escape into the port of Alemaer in Holland. He had fled from England with such precipitation that he had carried nothing of value along with him, and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over was a robe lined with sables, promising him an ample recompense if fortune should ever become more propitious to him.⁵²

It is not likely that Edward could be very fond of presenting himself in this lamentable plight before the Duke of Burgundy, and that, having so suddenly, after his mighty vaunts, lost all footing in his own kingdom, he could be insensible to the ridicule which must attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke, on his part, was no less embarrassed how he should receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever borne a greater affection to the house of Lan-

⁵¹ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 208.

⁵² Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5.

caster than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foresaw that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance against him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this reason, when the first rumor of that event reached him, attended with the circumstance of Edward's death, he seemed rather pleased with the catastrophe; and it was no agreeable disappointment to find that he must either undergo the burden of supporting an exiled prince or the dishonor of abandoning so near a relation. He began already to say that his connections were with the kingdom of England, not with the king, and it was indifferent to him whether the name of Edward or that of Henry were employed in the articles of treaty. These sentiments were continually strengthened by the subsequent events. Vaucler, the deputy-governor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a pension from the Duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no sooner saw his old master Warwick reinstated in authority than he declared for him, and, with great demonstrations of zeal and attachment, put the whole garrison in his livery. And the intelligence which the duke received every day from England seemed to promise an entire and full settlement in the family of Lancaster.

Immediately after Edward's flight had left the kingdom at Warwick's disposal, that nobleman hastened to London; and taking Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A Parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and as this assembly could pretend to no liberty while surrounded by such enraged and insolent victors, governed by such an impetuous spirit as Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here fully executed: Henry was recognized as lawful king; but, his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of Prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business, also, of reversals went on without opposition: every statute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be a usurper; he and his adherents were attained, and in

particular Richard, Duke of Gloucester, his younger brother ; all the attainders of the Lancastrians, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed ; and every one was restored who had lost either honors or fortunes by his former adherence to the cause of Henry.

The ruling party were more sparing in their executions than was usual after any revolution during those violent times. The only victim of distinction was John Tiptot, Earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege and left learning to monks and schoolmasters, for whom, indeed, the spurious erudition that prevailed was best fitted, had been struck with the first rays of true science which began to penetrate from the south, and had been zealous, by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpolished countrymen. It is pretended that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman himself the effect, which naturally attends it, of humanizing the temper and softening the heart ;⁵³ and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him by the severities which he exercised upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He endeavored to conceal himself after the flight of Edward ; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the Earl of Oxford, condemned and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists either fled beyond sea or took shelter in sanctuaries, where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection. In London alone it is computed that no less than two thousand persons saved themselves in this manner ;⁵⁴ and among the rest Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a son, called by his father's name.⁵⁵

Queen Margaret, the other rival queen, had not yet appeared in England, but, on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with Prince Edward for her journey. All the banished Lancastrians flocked to her ; and among the rest the Duke of Somerset, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the discomfiture of his friends ; and as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells

⁵³ Hall, fol. 210. Stowe, p. 422.

⁵⁴ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.

⁵⁵ Hall, fol. 210. Stowe, p. 423. Hollingshed, p. 677. Grafton, p. 690.

us⁵⁶ that he himself saw him, as well as the Duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till, being discovered by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, they had small pensions allotted them, and were living in silence and obscurity, when the success of their party called them from their retreat. But both Somerset and Margaret were detained by contrary winds from reaching England,⁵⁷ till a new revolution in that kingdom, no less sudden and surprising than the former, threw them into greater misery than that from which they had just emerged.

Though the Duke of Burgundy, by neglecting Edward and paying court to the established government, had endeavored to conciliate the friendship of the Lancastrians, he found that he had not succeeded to his wish; and the connections between the King of France and the Earl of Warwick still held him in great anxiety.⁵⁸ This nobleman, too hastily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had sent over to Calais a body of four thousand men, who made inroads into the Low Countries; ⁵⁹ and the Duke of Burgundy saw himself in danger of being overwhelmed by the united arms of England and of France. He resolved, therefore, to grant some assistance to his brother-in-law, but in such a covert manner as should give the least offence possible to the English government. He equipped four large vessels, in the name of some private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand; and causing fourteen ships to be secretly hired from the Easterlings, he delivered this small squadron to Edward, who, receiving also a sum of money from the duke, immediately set sail for England. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure than he issued a proclamation, inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance,⁶⁰ an artifice which could not deceive the Earl of Warwick, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so disposed, for maintaining friendship with the Duke of Burgundy.

[1471.] Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not two thousand men, on the coast of Norfolk; but being there repulsed, he sailed northwards and disembarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates who had been ap-

⁵⁶ Liv. iii. chap. 4.

⁵⁸ Hall, fol. 205.

⁶⁰ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 6.

⁵⁷ Grafton, p. 692. Polyd. Verg. p. 522.

⁵⁹ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 6.

pointed by the Earl of Warwick kept the people everywhere from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him, and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. The Marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties; but from some mysterious reasons, which, as well as many other important transactions in that age, no historian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an insurrection which he ought to have esteemed so formidable. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. Had he here been refused admittance, he was totally undone; but there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favor him. His numerous friends, issuing from their sanctuaries, were active in his cause; many rich merchants who had formerly lent him money saw no other chance for their payment but his restoration; the city dames, who had been liberal of their favors to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends in his favor;⁶¹ and, above all, the Archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had secretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him, and he facilitated Edward's admission into London. The most likely cause which can be assigned for those multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itself, is the spirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. These persons, who had long distinguished themselves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the support of the Lancastrians; and they were inclined, by any prospect of favor or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connections. However this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.⁶²

⁶¹ Comines, liv. iii. chap 7.

⁶² Grafton, p. 702.

It appears not that Warwick, during his short administration, which had continued only six months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywise deserved to lose that general favor with which he had so lately overwhelmed Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defensive, was now the aggressor, and, having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an insurrection, possessed many advantages above his enemy; his partisans were actuated by that zeal and courage which the notion of an attack inspires; his opponents were intimidated for a like reason; every one who had been disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warwick's elevation either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman; and each malcontent, from whatever cause, proved an accession to Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the Earl of Warwick, who, being reinforced by his son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, and his brother, the Marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the neighborhood of London. The arrival of Queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians and have brought a great accession to Warwick's forces; but this very consideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action than to share the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who, he foresaw, would, in case of success, claim the chief merit in the enterprise.⁶³ But while his jealousy was all directed towards that side, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends who lay the nearest to his bosom. His brother Montague, who had lately temporized, seems now to have remained sincerely attached to the interests of his family; but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honor and gratitude, though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwick in all the honors and patrimony of the house of York, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family; he deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of twelve thousand men along with him.⁶⁴ Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obstinacy on both

⁶³ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.

⁶⁴ Grafton, p. 700. Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7. Leland's Collect. vol. ii. p. 505.

sides; the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valor, and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognizance was a sun; that of Warwick a star with rays; and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the Earl of Oxford, who fought on the side of the Lancastrians, was by mistake attacked by his friends and chased off the field of battle.⁶⁵ Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement;⁶⁶ his brother underwent the same fate; and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit.⁶⁷ There fell about fifteen hundred on the side of the victors.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought⁶⁸ Queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When this princess received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the Earl of Warwick, her courage, which had supported her under so many disastrous events, here quite left her; and she immediately foresaw all the dismal consequences of this calamity. At first she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu;⁶⁹ but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, of the Lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated: the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenloc were killed in the field; the Duke of Somerset and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded; about three thousand of their side fell in battle, and the army was entirely dispersed.

⁶⁵ Habington, p. 449.

⁶⁷ Hall, fol. 218.

⁶⁹ Hall, fol. 219. Habington, p. 451. Grafton, p. 706. Polyd. Verg. p. 528.

⁶⁶ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.

⁶⁸ Leland's Collect. vol. ii. p. 505.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions. The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there despatched him with their daggers.⁷⁰ Margaret was thrown into the Tower; King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury, but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the Duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands;⁷¹ but the universal odium which that prince has incurred inclined, perhaps, the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and though he labored under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the general manners of the age, gave a natural ground of suspicion, which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of his body to public view. That precaution served only to recall many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest the comparison.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of that family was dead; almost every great leader of the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold. The Earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Tewkesbury; and he fled into Brittany with his nephew, the young Earl of Richmond.⁷² The bastard of Falconberg, who had levied some forces and had advanced to London during Edward's absence, was repulsed; his men deserted him; he was taken prisoner, and immediately executed;⁷³ and, peace being now fully restored to the nation, a Parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor and recognized his legal authority.

[1472.] But this prince, who had been so firm and active

⁷⁰ Hall, fol. 221. Habington, p. 453. Hollingshed, p. 688. Polyd. Verg. p. 530.

⁷¹ Comines. Hall, fol. 223. Grafton, p. 703.

⁷² Habington, p. 454. Polyd. Verg. p. 531.

⁷³ Hollingshed, p. 689, 690, 693. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 554.

and intrepid during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a prosperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself, as before, to pleasure and amusement, after he became entirely master of his kingdom, and had no longer any enemy who could give him anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffensive course of life, and by his easy, familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had lost by the repeated cruelties exercised upon his enemies; and the example, also, of his jovial festivity served to abate the former acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. All men seemed to be fully satisfied with the present government; and the memory of past calamities served only to impress the people more strongly with a sense of their allegiance, and with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing such direful scenes.

[1474.] But while the king was thus indulging himself in pleasure, he was roused from his lethargy by a prospect of foreign conquests, which it is probable his desire of popularity, more than the spirit of ambition, had made him covet. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the Duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile,⁷⁴ the political interests of their states maintained still a close connection between them, and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to invade the French territories. Charles promised to join him with all his forces. The king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne. The duke was to acquire Champagne and some other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other.⁷⁵ They were the more encouraged to hope for success from this league, as the Count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of St. Quentin and other towns on the Somme, had secretly promised to join them; and there were also hopes of engaging the Duke of Brittany to enter into the confederacy.

The prospect of a French war was always a sure means

⁷⁴ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.

⁷⁵ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 806, 807, 808, &c.

of making the Parliament open their purses, as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound, which must have been very inaccurately levied, since it produced only thirty-one thousand four hundred and sixty pounds; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three-quarters of another.⁷⁶ But as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of *benevolence*—a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II., had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary.⁷⁷ The clauses annexed to the parliamentary grant show sufficiently the spirit of the nation in this respect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses; and if the expedition into France should not take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the Parliament was dissolved, which had sitten near two years and a half and had undergone several prorogations—a practice not very usual at that time in England.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms and fifteen thousand archers, attended by all the chief nobility of England, who, prognosticating future successes from the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honor.⁷⁸ [1475.] But all their sanguine hopes were damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them nor the Duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany and against the Duke of Lorraine; and though he came in person to Edward and endeavored to apologize for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the English. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

⁷⁶ Cotton, pp. 696, 700. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 558.

⁷⁷ Hall, fol. 226. Habington, p. 461. Grafton, p. 719. Fabian, fol. 221.

⁷⁸ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 5. This author says (chap. 11) that the king artfully brought over some of the richest of his subjects, who he knew would be soon tired of the war and would promote all proposals of peace, which he foresaw would be soon necessary.

That monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honor, deemed no submissions too mean which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who, united to so many other enemies, might still shake the well-established government of France. It appears from Comines that discipline was at this time very imperfect among the English; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet being always decided by hasty battles, had still left them ignorant of the improvements which the military art was beginning to receive upon the continent.⁷⁹ But as Lewis was sensible that the war-like genius of the people would soon render them excellent soldiers, he was far from despising them for their present want of experience, and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward sent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, so far from answering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present.⁸⁰ He took afterwards an opportunity of sending a herald to the English camp; and having given him directions to apply to the Lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen in promoting an accommodation with their master.⁸¹ As Edward was now fallen into like dispositions, a truce was soon concluded on terms more advantageous than honorable to Lewis. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately seventy five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives. It was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter.⁸² In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview; and for that purpose suitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A close rail was drawn across a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass—a precaution against a similar accident to that which befell the Duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Lewis came to the opposite sides; conferred privately together; and having confirmed their friendship and interchanged many mutual civilities, they soon after parted.⁸³

⁷⁹ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 5.

⁸⁰ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 227.

⁸¹ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 7.

⁸² Rymer, vol. xii. p. 17.

⁸³ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 9.

Lewis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendship, but also that of the nation, and of all the considerable persons in the English court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year, on several of the king's favorites: on Lord Hastings two thousand crowns, on Lord Howard and others in proportion; and these great ministers were not ashamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince.⁸⁴ As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some time in the neighborhood of each other, the English were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Lewis resided, but had also their charges defrayed, and had wine and victuals furnished them in every inn, without any payment being demanded. They flocked thither in such multitudes that once above nine thousand of them were in the town, and they might have made themselves masters of the king's person; but Lewis, concluding, from their jovial and dissolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the least sign of fear or jealousy. And when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against them, he replied that he would never agree to exclude the English from the place where he resided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recall them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their returning.⁸⁵

Lewis's desire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances, which it cost him afterwards some pains to evade. In the conference at Pecquigni he had said to Edward that he wished to have a visit from him at Paris; that he would there endeavor to amuse him with the ladies; and that, in case any offences were then committed, he would assign him the Cardinal of Bourbon for confessor, who, from fellow-feeling, would not be over and above severe in the penances which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper impression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him in confidence that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Lewis pretended at first not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern that his wars with the Duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal guest and do him the honors he intended.

⁸⁴ Hall, fol. 235.

⁸⁵ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 9. Hall, fol. 233.

"Edward," said he privately to Comines, "is a very handsome and a very amorous prince; some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall do her, and may invite him to return in another manner. It is better that the sea be between us."⁸⁶

This treaty did very little honor to either of these monarchs; it discovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his measures so ill with his allies as to be obliged, after such an expensive armament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it; it showed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the superiority of a neighboring prince possessed of less power and territory than himself. But, as Lewis made interest the sole test of honor, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his side, and that he had overreached Edward by sending him out of France on such easy terms. For this reason he was very solicitous to conceal his triumph; and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to shew the English the least sign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule: he could not forbear, one day, in the joy of his heart, throwing out some raillery on the easy simplicity of Edward and his council; when he perceived that he was overheard by a Gascon who had settled in England. He was immediately sensible of his indiscretion; sent a message to the gentleman; and offered him such advantages in his own country as engaged him to remain in France. "It is but just," said he, "that I pay the penalty of my own talkativeness."⁸⁷

The most honorable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward was the stipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret, who, though, after the death of her husband and son, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died—an admirable princess, but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues nor been subject to the weaknesses of her sex, and was as much

⁸⁷ Comines, liv. iii. chap. 10.

⁸⁶ Comines, liv. iv. chap. 10. Habington, p. 469.

tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni; but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but, being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at last in battle against the Swiss⁸⁸—a people whom he despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been, in a manner, overlooked in the general system of Europe. [1477.] This event, which happened in the year 1477, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and was attended with consequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess, being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Christendom, who contended for the possession of so rich a prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy, which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbors. But a man wholly interested is as rare as one entirely endowed with the opposite quality; and Lewis, though impregnable to all the sentiments of generosity and friendship, was, on this occasion, carried from the road of true policy by the passions of animosity and revenge. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy that he rather chose to subdue the princess by arms than unite her to his family by marriage: he conquered the duchy of Burgundy and that part of Picardy which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras; but he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederic, from whom they looked for protection in their present distresses; and, by these means, France lost the opportunity, which she never could recall,

⁸⁸ Comines, liv. v. chap. 8.

of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

During this interesting crisis Edward was no less defective in policy, and was no less actuated by private passions unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heiress of Burgundy;⁸⁹ and he sent her proposals of espousing Anthony, Earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendant over him. But the match was rejected with disdain;⁹⁰ and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defenceless ally. Any pretence sufficed him for abandoning himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions. The only object which divided his attention was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predecessors; and some of his expedients for that purpose, though unknown to us, were deemed, during the time, oppressive to the people.⁹¹ The detail of private wrongs naturally escapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny of which Edward was guilty in his own family has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general and deserved censure.

The Duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent openness and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much less dangerous, tended extremely to multiply his enemies and to incense them against him. Among others, he had had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, in hopes that, if he patiently endured this in-

⁸⁹ Polyd. Verg. Hall, fol. 240. Hollingshed, p. 703. Habington, p. 474. Grafton, v. 742.

⁹⁰ Hall, fol. 240.

⁹¹ Hall, fol. 241. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 559.

jury, his pusillanimity would dishonor him in the eyes of the public; if he made resistance and expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them advantages against him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickshire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favorite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the Duke of Clarence: he was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence.⁹² About the same time, one John Stacey, an ecclesiastic much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was exposed to a like iniquitous and barbarous prosecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and astronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumor to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greatest peers countenanced the prosecution by their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.⁹³

The Duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny exercised on all around him; he reflected on the fate of the good Duke of Gloucester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connections, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, was open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the Tower,⁹⁴ summoned a Parliament, and tried him for his life before the House of Peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation.

⁹² Habington, p. 475. Hollingshed, p. 703. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 498.

⁹³ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 561.

⁹⁴ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 562.

The duke was accused of arraiguing public justice by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature, and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution.⁹⁵ Many rash expressions were imputed to him, and some, too, reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted of, since the liberty of judgment was taken from the court by the king's appearing personally as his brother's accuser⁹⁶ and pleading the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not place, was a necessary consequence, in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party, and the Duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the Peers. The House of Commons were no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him.⁹⁷ The measures of the Parliament during that age furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility: they scruple to grant, and sometimes refuse, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the Parliament itself, expressed great fondness; but they never scruple to concur in the most flagrant act of injustice or tyranny which falls on any individual, however distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government, so contrary to the practice of present Parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

The only favor which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower—a whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the Earl of Warwick: a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards Countess of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death—a fate which for many years attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood in England. There

⁹⁵ Stowe, p. 430.

⁹⁶ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 562.

⁹⁷ Stowe, p. 430. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 562.

prevails a report that the chief source of the violent prosecution of the Duke of Clarence, whose name was George, was a current prophecy that the king's son should be murdered by one the initial letter of whose name was G.⁹⁸ It is not impossible but, in those ignorant times, such a silly reason might have some influence; but it is more probable that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on the murder of these children by the Duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks that, at that time, the English never were without some superstitious prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

[1482.] All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars, where his laurels too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterwards to have been sunk in indolence and pleasure, or his measures were frustrated by imprudence and the want of foresight. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters settled by splendid marriages, though most of these princesses were yet in their infancy, and though the completion of his views, it was obvious, must depend on numberless accidents which were impossible to be foreseen or prevented. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his second, Cicely, to the eldest son of James III., King of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip, only son of Maximilian and the Duchess of Burgundy; his fourth, Catherine, to John, son and heir to Ferdinand, King of Arragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile.⁹⁹ None of these projected marriages took place, and the king himself saw, in his lifetime, the rupture of the first, that with the dauphin, for which he had always discovered a peculiar fondness. Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties or engagements, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithstanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavored to guard against the blow; and, by a proper distribution of presents in the court of Scotland, he incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whose force was very unequal to the enterprise, levied an army; but when he was ready to enter Eng-

⁹⁸ Hall, fol. 239. Hollingshed, p. 703. Grafton, p. 741. Polyd. Verg. p. 537. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 497.

⁹⁹ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 110.

land, the barons, conspiring against his favorites, put them to death without trial, and the army presently disbanded. The Duke of Gloucester, attended by the Duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been banished his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace by which they resigned that fortress to Edward. This success emboldened the king to think more seriously of a French war; but, while he was making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired, in the forty-second year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign—a prince more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions than to remedy them after they took place, by his vigor and enterprise. Besides five daughters, this king left two sons: Edward, Prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, Duke of York, in his ninth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.

EDWARD V.—STATE OF THE COURT.—THE EARL OF RIVERS ARRESTED.—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, PROTECTOR.—EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS.—THE PROTECTOR AIMS AT THE CROWN.—ASSUMES THE CROWN.—MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—RICHARD III.—DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM DISCONTENTED.—THE EARL OF RICHMOND.—BUCKINGHAM EXECUTED.—INVASION BY THE EARL OF RICHMOND.—BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

[1483.] DURING the later years of Edward IV., the nation having in a great measure forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roses, and peaceably acquiescing in the established government, was agitated only by some court intrigues, which, being restrained by the authority of the king, seemed nowise to endanger the public tranquillity. These intrigues arose from the perpetual rivalry between two parties: one consisting of the queen and her relations, particularly the Earl of Rivers, her brother, and the Marquis of Dorset, her son; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden growth and unlimited credit of that aspiring family.¹ At the head of this latter party was the Duke of Buckingham—a man of very noble birth, of ample possessions, of great alliances, of shining parts—who, though he had married the queen's sister, was too haughty to act in subserviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and as this nobleman had by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favor of his master, he had been able, though with some difficulty, to support himself against the credit of the queen. The Lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connection with these two noblemen, and brought

¹ Sir Thomas More, p. 481.

a considerable accession of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons who had no particular dependence on the queen adhered to the same interest; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, bore great favor to the cause of these noblemen.

But Edward knew that, though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his son; and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north, should be entrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son; represented to them the dangers which must attend the continuance of their animosities; and engaged them to embrace each other with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or feigned agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: he had no sooner expired than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh; and each of them applied by separate messages, to the Duke of Gloucester, and endeavored to acquire his favor and friendship.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavored to live on good terms with both parties; and his high birth, his extensive abilities, and his great services had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependence on either. But the new situation of affairs, when the supreme power was devolved upon him, immediately changed his measures, and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without hesitation, into concert with the opposite party; but being sensible that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for effecting his criminal purposes, he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her as to influence her conduct in a point which, as it was of the utmost importance, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, whither he had been sent that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welsh and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. His person was committed to the care of his uncle, the Earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature² to great abilities in business and valor in the field, was entitled, by his talents still more than by nearness of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendant over her son, which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the Earl of Rivers that he should levy a body of forces in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and was approaching to the age when he would be legally entitled to exert in person his authority, foresaw that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals; and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais;³ the other nobles seemed resolute to oppose force by force; and as the Duke of Gloucester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared against all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous and was nowise necessary, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and desired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign.⁴

The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to await his arrival, under color of conducting him thence in person to London. The Earl of

² This nobleman first introduced the noble art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV. See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

³ Hist Croyland, contin. pp. 564, 565.

⁴ Sir Thomas More, p. 483.

Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony-Stratford, and came himself to Northampton in order to apologize for this measure, and to pay his respects to the Duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality; he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham; he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king; but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the Duke of Gloucester;⁵ Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, was at the same time put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and endeavored to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother; but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.⁶

The people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this resolution, and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations; but the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the Marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the Duke of York.⁷ She trusted that the ecclesiastical privileges which had formerly, during the total ruin of her husband and family, given her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian faction would not now be violated by her brother-in-law while her son was on the throne; and she resolved to await there the return of better fortune. But Gloucester, anxious to have the Duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanctuary; and he represented to the privy council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged that ecclesiastical priv-

⁵ Hist. Croyland, contin. pp. 564, 565.

⁶ Sir Thomas More, p. 484.

⁷ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 565.

ileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes, and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the same reason, was utterly incapable of claiming security from any sanctuary. But the two archbishops, Cardinal Bouchier, the primate, and Rotherham, Archbishop of York, protesting against the sacrilege of this measure, it was agreed that they should first endeavor to bring the queen to compliance by persuasion, before any violence should be employed against her. These prelates were persons of known integrity and honor; and, being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties, exhortations, and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate, and insisted that the Duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave security to the king, whose life no one would dare to attempt while his successor and avenger remained in safety; but finding that none supported her in these sentiments, and that force, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here on a sudden struck with a kind of pre-sage of his future fate: she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.⁸

The Duke of Gloucester, being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed entitled, by the customs of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the consent of Parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity.⁹ The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen and her kindred occasioned this precipitation and irregularity: and no one foresaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so obvious and so natural. Besides that the duke had hitherto been able to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his fierce and savage nature, the numerous issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, seemed to be an eternal obstacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable title, and imprudent to

⁸ Sir Thomas More, p. 491.

⁹ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 566.

exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honor and humanity was soon carried by his predominant passion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloucester, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the Earl of Rivers and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret was first determined, and he easily obtained the consent of the Duke of Buckingham, as well as of Lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure. However easy it was, in those times, to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to despatch an enemy, without any trial or form of process; and orders were accordingly issued to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition. He represented that the execution of persons so nearly related to the king, whom that prince so openly professed to love, and whose fate he so much resented, would never pass unpunished, and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance; that it would be impossible to keep the queen forever at a distance from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions, the sanguinary insults committed on her family; that the only method of obviating these mischiefs was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit and to the rights of ancient nobility; and that the same necessity which had carried them so far in resisting the usurpation of these intruders must justify them in attempting farther innovations, and in making, by national consent, a new settlement of the succession. To these reasons he added the offers of great private advantages to the Duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises.

The Duke of Gloucester, knowing the importance of gaining Lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his sentiments by means of Catesby, a lawyer who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman, but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had

ever honored him with his friendship.¹⁰ He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, by the advice of Hastings, the protector summoned a council in the Tower, whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The Duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the easiest and most jovial humor imaginable. He seemed to indulge himself in familiar conversation with the counsellors, before they should enter on business; and having paid some compliments to Morton, Bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favor of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately despatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but soon after returning, with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against *his* life who was so nearly related to the king, and was intrusted with the administration of government. Hastings replied that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others their associates: see to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft;" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. But the counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all Lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore,¹¹ was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore; you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal; the

¹⁰ Sir Thomas More, p. 493.

¹¹ See note [N] at the end of the volume.

counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation ; and one of the guards, as if by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a pole-axe at Lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, slunk under the table ; and though he saved his life, received a severe wound in the head in the protector's presence. Hastings was seized, was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower.¹² Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them, from the suddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them ; but the saying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy.¹³

Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and other counsellors were committed prisoners in different chambers of the Tower ; and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized, and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received, even in that ignorant age, were produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness ; and she did penance in a white sheet in St. Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents, in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen ; but, unhappily, views of interest more than the maid's inclinations had been consulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who solicited her favors. But while seduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues ; and the ascendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent ; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the solicitation of presents nor the hopes of reciprocal services. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame imposed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship and been protected by her credit.

¹² Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 566.

¹³ Sir Thomas More, p. 499.

No one among the great multitudes whom she had obliged had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief : she languished out her life in solitude and indigence ; and amidst a court inured to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

These acts of violence exercised against all the nearest connections of the late king prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children ; and after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasures either by honor or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. It was asserted that, before espousing the Lady Elizabeth Gray, he had paid court to the Lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury ; and being repulsed by the virtue of of that lady, he was obliged, ere he could gratify his desires, to consent to a private marriage, without any witnesses, by Stillington, Bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret.¹⁴ It was also maintained that the act of attainder passed against the Duke of Clarence had virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown ; and these two families being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. But as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king, and as the rule which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private successions was never extended to the crown, the protector resolved to make use of another plea still more shameful and scandalous. His partisans were taught to maintain that both Edward IV. and the Duke of Clarence were illegitimate ; that the Duchess of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children ; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth ; and that the Duke of Gloucester alone, of all her sons, appeared, by his features and countenance, to be the true offspring of the Duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this assertion, which threw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, and then alive ; yet the place chosen for first promulgating it was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in the protector's presence. Dr.

¹⁴ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 567. Comines. Sir Thomas More, p. 482.

Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen this passage for his text, "Bastard slips shall not thrive," he enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the Duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the Duke of Gloucester, and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favorite; he alone is entitled to your allegiance; he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can restore the lost glory and honor of the nation." It was previously concerted that, as the doctor should pronounce these words, the Duke of Gloucester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out, 'God save King Richard!' which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation; but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place: the audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill success of their stratagem.

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens, where the Duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and displayed those numerous virtues of which, he pretended, that prince was possessed. He next asked them whether they would have the duke for king, and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, "God save King Richard!" He was surprised to observe them silent; and turning about to the mayor, asked him the reason. The mayor replied that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated his discourse with some variation; enforced the same topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause," said the mayor; "the

citizens are not accustomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the sense of the Duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence. "This is wonderful obstinacy," cried the duke; "express your meaning, my friends, one way or other: when we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The Lords and Commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the Duke of Gloucester for your sovereign." After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raised a feeble cry, "God save King Richard!"¹⁵ The sentiments of the nation were now sufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety—a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king. The protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be resisted; he was prevailed on to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful sovereign.

This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical—the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the

¹⁵ Sir Thomas More, p. 496.

Tower, to put his nephews to death : but this gentleman, who had sentiments of honor, refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience ; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Tyrrel, choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged ; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself stayed without. They found the young princes in bed and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground under a heap of stones.¹⁶ These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign ; and they were never punished for the crime, probably because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, desired to establish it as a principle that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumstance not so easy to be accounted for : it is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground ; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any search which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II., when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, the bones of two persons were there found, which, by their size, exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother ; they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument by orders of King Charles.¹⁷ Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands ; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

¹⁶ Sir Thomas More, p. 501

¹⁷ Kennet, p. 551.

RICHARD III.

THE first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain by favors those who he thought were best able to support his future government. Thomas, Lord Howard, was created Duke of Norfolk; Sir Thomas Howard, his son, Earl of Surrey; Lord Lovel, a viscount by the same name; even Lord Stanley was set at liberty and made steward of the household. This nobleman had become obnoxious by his first opposition to Richard's views, and also by his marrying the countess-dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerset family; but sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he feigned such zeal for Richard's service that he was received into favor, and even found means to be entrusted with the most important commands by that politic and jealous tyrant.

But the person who, both from the greatness of his services and the power and splendor of his family, was best entitled to favors under the new government was the Duke of Buckingham; and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II., and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The Duke of Gloucester and Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., had married the two daughters and co-heirs of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares: one was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, after the attainder of that royal line, was seized, as legally devolved to them, by the sovereigns of the house of York. The Duke of Buckingham laid hold of the present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard readily complied with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his assistance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received

a grant of the estate of Hereford; ¹⁸ many other dignities and honors were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself sure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interests seemed so closely connected with those of the present government.

But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the Duke of Buckingham. Historians ascribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were satisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant; perhaps he refused some other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impossible to gratify for his past services; perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxims of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own elevation; and the discovery of this intention begat the first discontent in the Duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

Never was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, or more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family and on the persons with whom he was the most nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent merely for want of some person of distinction who might stand forth against him and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. Were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, the sense of private and domestic duty, which is not to be effaced in the most barbarous times, must have begotten an abhorrence against him, and have

¹⁸ Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. pp. 168, 169.

represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whose protection he had been intrusted, in the most odious colors imaginable. To endure such a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was distinguished by birth, merit, or services. Such was become the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the same sentiments; and the Lancastrians, so long oppressed and of late so much discredited, felt their blasted hopes again revive, and anxiously expected the consequences of these extraordinary events. The Duke of Buckingham, whose family had been devoted to that interest, and who, by his mother, a daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was allied to the House of Lancaster, was easily induced to espouse the cause of this party, and to endeavor the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton, Bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young Earl of Richmond as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper.¹⁹

Henry, Earl of Richmond, was at this time detained in a kind of honorable custody by the Duke of Brittany; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been a great object of jealousy both in the late and in the present reign. John, the first Duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of Parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother, Edmund, had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund, Earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. and son of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V., and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and who, after his father's death, inherited the honors and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused in second marriage Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman had married Lord Stanley, but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most considerable advantage which he had reason to ex-

¹⁹ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 568.

pect from her succession: he would represent the elder branch of the house of Somerset; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and though its claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, had always been much disregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and the murder of Prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it.

Edward IV., finding that all the Lancastrians had turned their attention towards the young Earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him also worthy of his attention, and pursued him into his retreat in Brittany, whither his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, had carried him after the battle of Tewkesbury, so fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II., Duke of Brittany, who was his ally, a weak but a good prince, and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the source of future disturbances in England; but the duke, averse to so dishonorable a proposal, would only consent that, for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe-keeping or the subsistence of his prisoner. But towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court with regard to Henry were much increased; and Edward made a new proposal to the duke, which covered, under the fairest appearances, the most bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he solicited to have him sent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These pretences, seconded, as is supposed, by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt minister, by whom the Duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the court of Brittany: Henry was delivered into the hands of the English agents: he was ready to embark, when a suspicion of Edward's real design was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus saved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning family of England both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions and made him the object of general favor and compassion, on account of the dangers and persecu-

tions to which he was exposed. The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. But notwithstanding these circumstances, which were so favorable to him, Buckingham and the Bishop of Ely well knew that there would still lie many obstacles in his way to the throne; and that though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the Duke of York while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other, yet as soon as these titles were united in Edward IV. the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decayed both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions by contracting a marriage between the Earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely desirous of repose after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardor; and that the prospect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itself so desirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred against the present government, render their cause absolutely invincible. In consequence of these views, the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the Countess of Richmond, first opened the project of such an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, and at the same time so likely to succeed, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welsh physician, who had access to the queen-dowager in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her, and found that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation, of the parties seemed so naturally to invite them.

She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the Earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him, on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family.

The plan being thus laid upon the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could be conducted in so secret a manner as entirely to escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against his authority. He immediately put himself in a posture of defence by levying troops in the north; and he summoned the duke to appear at court, in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales and giving the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But at that very time there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighborhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Banister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury, and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age.²⁰ The other conspirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of the Duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, despaired of success, and immediately dispersed themselves.

The Marquis of Dorset and the Bishop of Ely made their escape beyond sea; many others were equally fortunate; several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made some ex-

²⁰ Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 568.

amples. His executions seem not to have been remarkably severe ; though we are told of one gentleman, William Collingbourne, who suffered under color of this rebellion, but in reality for a distich of quibbling verses which he had composed against Richard and his ministers.²¹ The Earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of five thousand men levied in foreign parts ; but, his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends, and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

[1484.] The king, everywhere triumphant and fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a Parliament—a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the Parliament, in a contest of national parties, should always adhere to the victor, he seems to have apprehended lest his title, founded on no principle and supported by no party, might be rejected by that assembly. But his enemies being now at his feet, the Parliament had no choice left but to recognize his authority and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son, Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created Prince of Wales ; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life ; and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

All the other measures of the king tended to the same object. Sensible that the only circumstance which could give him security was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen-dowager with such art and address, made such earnest protestations of his sincere good-will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick and widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, whom Richard himself

²¹ The lines were :

“ The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel, that Dog,
Rule all England under the Hog.”

Alluding to the names of Ratcliffe and Catesby ; and to Richard's arms, which were a boar.

had murdered ; but this princess having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison—a crime for which the public could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenor of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The Earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown ; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled at this alliance, which was very unusual in England and was regarded as incestuous, nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother ; she even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper that she wrote to all her partisans, and, among the rest, to her son, the Marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the Earl of Richmond—an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive ; the court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation ; Richard thought that he could easily defend himself, during the interval, till it arrived ; and he had afterwards the agreeable prospect of a full and secure settlement. He flattered himself that the English nation, seeing all danger removed of a disputed succession, would then acquiesce under the dominion of a prince who was of mature years, of great abilities, and of a genius qualified for government ; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed in paving his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity that the natural sentiments of men without any political or public views were sufficient to render his government unstable ; and every person of probity and honor was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety ; and he

made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father, Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The Earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry, and inflamed his ardor for the attempt by the favorable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

[1485.] The Earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a small army of about two thousand men; and after a navigation of six days he arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. He directed his course to that part of the kingdom in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favor of his cause by means of the Duke of Buckingham, would join his standard and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed, in person, to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap-Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were intrusted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry, the second made but feeble opposition to him, and the earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury; Sir Thomas Bouchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favorable aspect.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause except the Duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained

the greatest suspicion were Lord Stanley and his brother, Sir William, whose connections with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son, Lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity ; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself ; and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behavior. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester, Henry at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number ; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps ; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from these movements ; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them : he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him, because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still farther his ambiguous conduct ; and he hastened to decide, by arms, the quarrel with his competitor, being certain that a victory over the Earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford ; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing ; Sir John Savage the left ; the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in *his* main body, and intrusted the command of his van to the Duke of Norfolk ; as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the Earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies ; it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers ;

it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and, desecring his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismounted Sir John Cheney; he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat, when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honorable for his multiplied and detestable enormities. His men everywhere sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished, and among these the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brakenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies and all besmeared with blood; it was thrown carelessly across a horse, was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators, and was interred in the Gray-Friars' church of that place.

The historians who favor Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partisans among the later writers) maintain that he was well qualified for government had he legally obtained it, and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown; but this is a poor apology when it is confessed that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for that purpose; and it is certain that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, humpbacked, and had a harsh, disagreeable countenance; so that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.

Thus have we pursued the history of England through a series of many barbarous ages, till we have at last reached

the dawn of civility and science, and have the prospect both of greater certainty in our historical narrations and of being able to present to the reader a spectacle more worthy of his attention. The want of certainty, however, and of circumstances is not alike to be complained of throughout every period of this long narration. This island possesses many ancient historians of good credit, as well as many historical monuments; and it is rare that the annals of so uncultivated a people as were the English, as well as the other European nations, after the decline of Roman learning, have been transmitted to posterity so complete, and with so little mixture of falsehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome, who, founding their authority on their superior knowledge, preserved the precious literature of antiquity from a total extinction,²² and, under shelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a security by means of the superstition which they would in vain have claimed from the justice and humanity of those turbulent and licentious ages. Nor is the spectacle altogether unentertaining and uninteresting which the history of those times presents to us. The view of humane manners, in all their variety of appearances, is both profitable and agreeable; and if the aspect in some periods seem horrid and deformed, we may thence learn to cherish with the greater anxiety that science and civility which has so close a connection with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a sovereign antidote against superstition, is also the most effectual remedy against vice and disorders of every kind.

The rise, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for but by considering the degrees of advancement which men have reached in those particulars.

Those who cast their eye on the general revolutions of society will find that, as almost all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible decline from that point or period, and men thenceforth relapsed gradually into ignorance and barbarism. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despotism of its monarchs, extinguished all emulation, debased the generous

²² See note [O] at the end of the volume.

spirits of men, and depressed that noble flame by which all the refined arts must be cherished and enlivened. The military government which soon succeeded rendered even the lives and properties of men insecure and precarious, and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and, in the end, to the military art and genius itself by which alone the immense fabric of the empire could be supported. The irruption of the barbarous nations, which soon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men sunk every age deeper into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition, till the light of ancient science and history had very nearly suffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is a point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary direction, and beyond which they seldom pass either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Christendom were the lowest sunk in ignorance, and consequently in disorders of every kind, may justly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror; and from that era the sun of science, beginning to reascend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes and other northern people who had so long infested all the coasts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain subsistence at home, and were no longer tempted to desert their industry in order to seek a precarious livelihood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbors. The feudal governments also, among the more southern nations, were reduced to a kind of system; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill fitted to insure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the universal license and disorder which had everywhere preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended farther to the improvement of the age than one which has not been much remarked—the accidental finding of a copy of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi, in Italy.

The ecclesiastics, who had leisure and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of

the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connection with the imperial city of Rome, which, being the seat of their religion, seemed to acquire a new lustre and authority by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the Pandects, Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the university of Oxford; and the clergy everywhere, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffusing the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men, having large possessions to defend, was in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and, their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observance of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they possessed all the knowledge of the age and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice as well as science of the law fell mostly into their hands; and though the close connection which, without any necessity, they formed between the canon and civil law begat a jealousy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the case in many states of Europe, a great part of it was secretly transferred into the practice of the courts of justice, and the imitation of their neighbors made the English gradually endeavor to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and imperfection.

It is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients so complete an art, which was also so necessary for giving security to all other arts, and which by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgment, served as a model to farther improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law both to public and private interest recommended the study of it at a time when the more exalted and speculative sciences carried no charms with them, and thus the last branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted was happily the first transmitted to the modern world; for it is remarkable that, in the decline of Roman learning, when the philosophers were universally infected with superstition and sophistry and the poets and historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who, in other countries, are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able, by the constant study

and close imitation of their predecessors, to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression.

What bestowed an additional merit on the civil law was the extreme imperfection of that jurisprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or ancient English. The absurdities which prevailed at that time in the administration of justice may be conceived from the authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws, where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime, where stated prices were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorized for all injuries, where the use of the ordeal, corsnet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof, and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude state of nature; violence universally prevailed, instead of general and equitable maxims; the pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of submitting to government; and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, sought shelter by their personal servitude and attachments under some powerful chieftain or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progress of improvement raised the Europeans somewhat above this uncultivated state; and affairs, in this island particularly, took early a turn which was more favorable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations soon became honorable among the English; the situation of that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars so necessary as among their neighbors, and all regard was not confined to the military profession; the gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a necessary part of education: they were less diverted than afterwards from studies of this kind by other sciences; and in the age of Henry VI., as we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honorable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge—a circumstance which proves that a considerable progress was already made in the science of government, and which prognosticated a still greater.

One chief advantage which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts was the introduction and prog-

ress of freedom ; and this consequence affected men both in their *personal* and *civil* capacities.

If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find that the far greater part of society were everywhere bereaved of their *personal* liberty and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble was a slave : the peasants were sold along with the land ; the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition ; even the gentry themselves were subjected to a long train of subordination under the greater barons or chief vassals of the crown, who, though seemingly placed in a high state of splendor, yet having but a slender protection from law, were exposed to every tempest of the state, and, by the precarious condition in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppressing and tyrannizing over their inferiors. The first incident which broke in upon this violent system of government was the practice, begun in Italy and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations endowed with privileges and a separate municipal government, which gave them protection against the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect.²³ The relaxation of the feudal tenures and an execution somewhat stricter of the public law bestowed an independence on vassals which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peasants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villanage or slavery in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear strange that the progress of the arts, which seems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily increased the number of slaves, should in later times have proved so general a source of liberty ; but this difference in the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances which attended those institutions. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or splendor, employed not their villains as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers, but composed their retinue of freemen

²³ There appeared early symptoms of the jealousy entertained by the barons against the progress of the arts as destructive of their licentious power. A law was enacted, 7 Henry IV. chap. 17, prohibiting any one who did not possess twenty shillings a year in land from binding his sons apprentices to any trade. They found already that the cities began to drain the country of the laborers and husbandmen, and did not foresee how much the increase of commerce would increase the value of their estates. See, farther, Cotton, p. 179. The kings, to encourage the boroughs, granted them this privilege, that any villain who had lived a twelvemonth in any corporation, and had been of the guild, should be thenceforth regarded as free.

whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbors, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprise. The villains were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their master's land, and paid their rents either in corn and cattle, and other produce of the farm, or in servile offices which they performed about the baron's family and upon the farms which he retained in his own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the villain, were of little advantage to the master, and that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves, who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money-rents for those in kind; and as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villanage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe; the interest of the master, as well as that of the slave, concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude were enacted in the reign of Henry VII.; and, though the ancient statutes on this subject remain still unrepealed by Parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villain and freeman was totally, though insensibly, abolished, and that no person remained in the state to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus *personal* freedom became almost general in Europe—an advantage which paved the way for the increase of *political* or *civil* liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this salutary effect, served to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

The constitution of the English government, ever since the invasion of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely absolute and uncontrolled; but in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has expe-

rienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions.

The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was inured to arms, and where the independence of men was secured by a great equality of possessions, seemed to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freest nations of which there remains any account in the records of history. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of aristocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which, however, admitted of great control; though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the great charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III., the condition of the Commons was nowise eligible: a kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed; and though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious tyrants, who were equally averse from peace and from freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws which, in a following age, enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of these successive alterations, the only rule of government which is intelligible or carries any authority with it is the established practice of the age and the maxims of administration which are at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the greater

barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that ever was found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages, as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly *useful* by instructing them to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also *curious* by showing them the remote, and commonly faint and disfigured, originals of the most finished and most noble institutions, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY VII.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII.—HIS TITLE TO THE CROWN.—KING'S PREJUDICE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF YORK.—HIS JOYFUL RECEPTION IN LONDON.—HIS CORONATION.—SWEATING SICKNESS.—A PARLIAMENT.—ENTAIL OF THE CROWN.—KING'S MARRIAGE.—AN INSURRECTION.—DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE.—LAMBERT SIMNEL.—REVOLT OF IRELAND.—INTRIGUES OF THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.—LAMBERT SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF STOKE.

THE victory which the Earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive, being attended as well with the total rout and dispersion of the royal army as with the death of the king himself. Joy for this great success suddenly prompted the soldiers, in the field of battle, to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of king, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters. To bestow some appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himself remained not in suspense, but immediately without hesitation accepted of the magnificent present which was tendered him. He was come to the crisis of his fortune; and being obliged suddenly to determine himself, amidst great difficulties which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chose that part which his ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

There were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown, but no one of them free from great objections if considered with respect either to justice or to policy.

During some years Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster by the party attached to that family; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very ill founded. Henry IV., who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and while he plainly invaded the order of succession, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The Parliament, it is true, had often recognized the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes had little authority, being considered as instances of complaisance towards a family in possession of present power, and they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the sake of peace, to submit to any established authority, desired not to see the claims of that family revived—claims which must produce many convulsions at present, and which disjointed for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry himself was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will submit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the Earl of Richmond as their head. His mother, indeed, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the Duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; but the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And though the Duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent from Richard II., confirmed in Parliament, it might justly be doubted whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; since in the patent itself, all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded.¹ In all settlements of the crown made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked, and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of succession.

The title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case and from the late popular government of

¹ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 849. Coke's Inst. 4 Inst. part i. p. 37.

Edward IV., had universally obtained the preference in the sentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family by his intended marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the heir of it—a marriage which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his past successes. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power, he knew, would be very limited; and he must expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a sort of courtesy than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him, without issue, he must descend from the throne and give place to the next in succession. And even if his bed should be blest with offspring, it seemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of Parliament, indeed, might easily be procured to settle the crown on him during life; but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was to the authority of an assembly² which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim—the right of conquest by his victory over Richard, the present possessor of the crown. But besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than a usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over England could never be established by such a victory. Nothing, also, would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature, which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign.³ William himself, the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that he had ventured to advance so violent and destructive a pretension.

But Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of con-

² Bacon in Kennet's Complete History, p. 279.

³ Bacon, p. 579.

quest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigor and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV., who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York, had not the sceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI., which were too feeble to sustain it. Instructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority, and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms and a successful war should be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance, and never allowed to be discussed; and he hoped that his right, favored by the partisans of that family and seconded by present power, would secure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

These views of Henry are not exposed to much blame, because founded on good policy, and even on a species of necessity; but there entered into all his measures and counsels another motive, which admits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, and the many sanguinary revenges which they had alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the opposite factions to a high pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations perish in battle or by the executioner, and who had been exposed, in his own person, to many hardships and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present happy opportunity of abolishing these fatal distinctions, of uniting his title with that of his consort, and of bestowing favor indiscriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still the favorite objects of his pursuit; and, through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot those early prepossessions. Incapable, from his

natural temper of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himself to many present inconveniences by too anxiously guarding against that future possible event which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And, while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown which he so carefully kept separate, and to perceive its weakness and invalidity.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his suspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement at Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard, whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of such tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Wiltoughby was despatched by Henry with orders to take him from Sheriff-Hutton, to convey him to the Tower, and to detain him in close custody.⁴ The same messenger carried directions that the Princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London in order to meet Henry and there celebrate her nuptials.

Henry himself set out for the capital, and advanced by slow journeys. Not to rouse the jealousy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph and so to restrain the insolence of victory that everything about him bore the appearance of an established monarch making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were everywhere loud, and no less sincere and hearty. Besides that a young and victorious prince, on his accession, was naturally the object of popularity, the nation promised themselves great felicity from the new scene which opened before them. During the course of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid waste by domestic wars and convulsions, and, if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent still threatened new disorders. Henry by his marriage with Elizabeth seemed to insure a

⁴ Bacon, p. 579. Polyd. Verg. p. 565.

union of the contending titles of the two families; and having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjoined the succession even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was everywhere attended with the unfeigned favor of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progress. The mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city; the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction. But Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, discovered still the stateliness and reserve of his temper, which made him scorn to court popularity; he entered London in a close chariot, and would not gratify the people with a sight of their new sovereign.

But the king did not so much neglect the favor of the people as to delay giving them assurances of his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, which he knew to be so passionately desired by the nation. On his leaving Brittany, he had artfully dropped some hints that if he should succeed in his enterprise, and obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heir of that duchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to dissipate these apprehensions by solemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promise which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But, though bound by honor, as well as by interest, to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognized by Parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

There raged at that time, in London and other parts of the kingdom, a species of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness, which occasioned the sudden death of great multitudes, though it seemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. In less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the pestilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alterations in

the air or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered, to be considerably abated.⁵ Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the splendor of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve persons, and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas, Lord Stanley, his father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, Earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by Cardinal Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Parliament being assembled at Westminster, the majority immediately appeared to be devoted partisans of Henry, all persons of another disposition either declining to stand in those dangerous times or being obliged to dissemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancastrian party had everywhere been successful in the elections; and even many had been returned who, during the prevalence of the house of York, had been exposed to the rigor of the law, and had been condemned by the sentence of attainder and outlawry. The right to take seats in the House being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber in order to deliberate on so delicate a subject. The opinion delivered was prudent, and contained a just temperament between law and expediency.⁶ The judges determined that the members attained should forbear taking their seats till an act were passed for the reversal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the king's party.⁷

But a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attainted, and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt. The judges extricated themselves from this dangerous question by asserting it as a maxim "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that, from the time the

⁵ Polyd. Verg. p. 567.

⁷ Rot. Parl. 1 Henry VII. n. 2, 3, 4-15, 17, 26, 65.

⁶ Bacon, p. 581.

king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged.”⁸ Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation, the judges probably thought that no sentence of a court of judicature had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; that the heir of the crown was commonly exposed to such jealousy as might often occasion stretches of law and justice against him; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor’s reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birthright.

With a Parliament so obsequious the king could not fail of obtaining whatever act of settlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should found his pretensions. In his speech to the Parliament he mentioned his just title by hereditary right; but lest that title should not be esteemed sufficient, he subjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And again, lest this pretension should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he insured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

The entail of the crown was drawn according to the sense of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the Princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other respects the act was compiled with sufficient reserve and moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. He chose a middle course, which, as is generally unavoidable in such cases, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obscurity. It was voted “that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king;”⁹ but whether as rightful heir or only as present possessor was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or to give the preference to that of Lancaster. He left that great point ambiguous for the present, and trusted that if it should ever become requisite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the decision.

But, even after all these precautions, the king was so

⁸ Bacon, p. 581.

⁹ Ibid.

little satisfied with his own title that in the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and as the court of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakness, or necessity of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII., the reigning pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by succession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the sanction of religion is added: excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved, but by the pope himself or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine that the security derived from this bull could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.

It was natural, and even laudable, in Henry to reverse the attainders which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster; but the revenges which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, to which he was so soon to be allied, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the Parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, against the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle Bosworth. How men could be guilty of treason by supporting the king in possession against the Earl of Richmond, who assumed not the title of king, it is not easy to conceive; and nothing but a servile complaisance in the Parliament could have engaged them to make this stretch of justice. Nor was it a small mortification to the people in general to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or resentment, could, in the very beginning of his reign, so far violate the cordial union which had previously been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his succession to the throne.

The king, having gained so many points of consequence from the Parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed

by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render somewhat superfluous. The Parliament, however, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors ; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favor to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all such as had taken arms or formed any attempts against him, provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day and took the usual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries, and the minds of men were everywhere much quieter. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace so agreeable to the nation, rather than communicate it with the Parliament (as was his first intention) by passing a bill to that purpose. The Earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower.

During this parliament the king also bestowed favors and honors on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was restored to the honors of his family as well as to its fortune, which was very ample. This generosity, so unusual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his elevation, and who, by his own ruin, had made way for that great event. Chandos of Brittany was created Earl of Bath ; Sir Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney ; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Broke. These were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this session of Parliament.¹⁰

But the ministers whom Henry most trusted and favored were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses, and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council ; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter. The former soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Can-

¹⁰ Polyd. Verg. p. 566.

terbury. The latter was made privy seal, and successively Bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester; for Henry, as Lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates, because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services; and it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees.¹¹ He probably expected that, as they were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority, so the prospect of farther elevation would render them still more active in his service and more obsequious to his commands.

[1486.] In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the Parliament, anxious to preserve the legal undisputed succession to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest zeal, to espouse the Princess Elizabeth; but they covered their true reason under the dutiful pretence of their desire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated in London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favor borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance, from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness.

The king had been carried along with such a tide of success ever since his arrival in England that he thought nothing could withstand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous, in hopes of curing, by his presence and conversation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that Viscount Lovel, with Sir Humphrey Stafford and Thomas, his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester; but this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey, and he proceeded

¹¹ Bacon, p. 582.

forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide, and he put them under the command of the Duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that his hasty armament was more formidable by their spirit and their zealous attachment to him than by the arms or military stores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy, but previously to try every possible expedient to disperse them. Bedford published a general promise of pardon to the rebels, which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops that he suddenly withdrew himself, and, after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the Duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, obtained a pardon.¹²

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular. The source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that very reason became every day more the object of his hatred and jealousy. Not only a preference on

¹² Polyd. Verg. 569.

all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians, but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general resumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and though this rigor had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become insufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and though the grants, during the latter years of Henry VI., were resumed by the same law, yet the York party, as they were the principal sufferers by the resumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the Earl of Warwick begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his confinement in the Tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that detested tyrant; and when it was remarked that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a son was not admitted to the honor of a public coronation, Henry's prepossessions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally obstinate in their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to cure these prejudices contracted against his administration, but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at best reverence, rather than good-will and affection.¹³ While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigor retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtlety and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of

¹³ Bacon, p. 583.

his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumor, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public; but hearing afterwards a new report that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince.¹⁴ Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act, yet was it remarked that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the Earl of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition; and it was thence conjectured that persons of higher rank, partisans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen-dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might seem, that she had secretly given her consent to the imposture. This woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that, instead of receiving the reward of her services in contributing to Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute insignificance, her daughter treated with severity, and all her friends brought under subjection, she had conceived the most violent animosity against him, and had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew that the imposture, however successful, might easily at last be set aside; and if a way could be found at his risk to subvert the government, she hoped that a scene might be opened which, though difficult at present exactly to foresee, would gratify her revenge and be on the whole less irksome to her than that slavery and contempt to which she was now reduced.¹⁵

But whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture could not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was jealousy attached to the house of York and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers who had been appointed by his predecessors still

¹⁴ Polyd. Verg. pp. 569, 570.

¹⁵ Polyd. Verg. p. 570.

retained their authority. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman, not suspecting so bold an imposture, gave attention to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more sanguine in their zeal and belief than himself; and in proportion as the story diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin, with one consent, tendered their allegiance to Simnel as the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty, which flattered their natural propension, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV., who stood before Warwick in the order of succession; they paid the pretended prince attendance as their sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital, and not a sword was anywhere drawn in Henry's quarrel.

When this intelligence was conveyed to the king, it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in person, he yet scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy was first framed, and where he knew many persons of condition and the people in general were much disposed to give it countenance. In order to discover the secret source of the contrivance and take measures against this open revolt, he held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority and the suppression of his enemies.

The first event which followed these deliberations gave surprise to the public: it was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey. This act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alleged that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yet yielded to the solicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obsolete and might admit of alleviations, was therefore suspected not to be the real cause of the severity with which she was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuse so near

a relation of a conspiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under color of an offence known to the whole world.¹⁶ They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she survived this disgrace several years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, solitude, and confinement.

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him and converse with him; and he trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd imposture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shown a counterfeit Warwick to the public.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister to Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigor towards Warwick, had farther struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the most dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during some time in the court of his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herself

¹⁶ Bacon, p. 583. Polyd. Verg. p. 571.

with an entire friendship to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria; and after the death of that princess, she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret, her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education and of their persons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanor she had acquired great authority among the Flemings, and lived with much dignity as well as economy upon that ample dowry which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction which it is so difficult for a social and sanguine temper to guard against had taken strong possession of her heart, and intrenched somewhat on the probity which shone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its partisans, she was moved with the highest indignation, and she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims. [1487.] After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer,¹⁷ and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland. The poverty also under which they labored made it impossible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and inspired them with a strong desire of enriching themselves by plunder and preferment in England.

Henry was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies, and he prepared himself for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Oxford. He confined the Marquis of Dorset, who, he suspected, would resent the injuries suffered by his mother, the queen-dowager; and, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles, and there offered up prayers for success and for deliverance from his enemies.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey, in

¹⁷ Polyd. Verg. pp. 572, 573.

Lancashire, he drew together his forces and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favor; but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquillity or gave assistance to the royal army. The Earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the native courage of his temper and emboldened by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle which was bloody and more obstinately disputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or to perish, and they inspired their troops with like resolution. The Germans, also, being veteran and experienced soldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill-armed and almost defenceless, showed themselves not defective in spirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their followers. As Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody. Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.¹⁸

Henry had now leisure to revenge himself on his enemies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict inquiry was made after those who had assisted or favored the rebels. The punishments were not all sanguinary: the king made his revenge subservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commissioners

¹⁸ Bacon, p. 586. Polyd. Verg. p. 574.

appointed for the purpose or they suffered punishment by sentence of a court-martial; and, as a rumor had prevailed before the battle of Stoke that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of disaffection, and he punished many for that pretended crime. But such in this age was the situation of the English government that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, which frequently recurred, to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.

After the king had gratified his rigor by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation; and, to show a disposition still more gracious, he restored to liberty the Marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him.

CHAPTER XXV.

STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—STATE OF SCOTLAND—OF SPAIN—OF THE LOW COUNTRIES—OF FRANCE—OF BRITTANY.—FRENCH INVASION OF BRITTANY.—FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.—DISSIMULATION OF THE FRENCH COURT.—AN INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH—SUPPRESSED.—KING SENDS FORCES INTO BRITTANY.—ANNEXATION OF BRITTANY TO FRANCE.—A PARLIAMENT.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—PERKIN WARBECK.—HIS IMPOSTURE.—HE IS AVOWED BY THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, AND BY MANY OF THE ENGLISH NOBILITY.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STANLEY.—A PARLIAMENT.

THE king acquired great reputation throughout Europe by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic affairs; but as some incidents about this time invited him to look abroad and exert himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary, in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the situation of the neighboring kingdoms, beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous. [1488.]

The kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the sovereign, to maintain itself in order and tranquillity. James III., who now filled the throne, was a prince of little industry and a narrow genius; and though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his ministers, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himself and to his people. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince and gave umbrage to the state. When he conferred favor on any person of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upstart minion, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. Had Henry

entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to subjection ; but as he was probably sensible that a warlike people, though they might be overrun by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and sent an embassy to James for that purpose. But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their security to consist in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a seven years' truce, which was accordingly concluded.¹

The European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries ; and began to unite themselves into one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, which had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived ; honor and security were attained ; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and made a great figure in every war and negotiation.

Maximilian, King of the Romans, son of the Emperor Frederic, had, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands ; and though the death of his consort had weakened his connections with that country, he still pretended to the government as tutor to his son Philip, and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and several of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that obstinate people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI., and had given his

¹ Polyd. Verg. p. 575.

daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin, together with Artois, Franche Compté, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII.; but Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

France, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increase in power and greatness; and had not other states of Europe at the same time received an accession of force, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to support it. Lewis XI., indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his son, in early youth and ill educated, to sustain the weight of the monarchy; but having intrusted the government to his daughter Anne, Lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princess formed the great project, which at last she happily effected, of uniting to the crown Brittany, the last and most independent fief of the monarchy.

Francis II., Duke of Brittany, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Brittany, displeased with the great advancement of this favorite, had even proceeded to disaffection against their sovereign; and after many tumults and disorders, they at last united among themselves, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death the obnoxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince for this invasion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and safety, maintained a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favorable for invading the duchy; and so much the rather as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

Lewis, Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood and presumptive heir of the monarchy, had disputed the administration with the Lady of Beaujeu; and though his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the *grande*s, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princess. Finding his conspiracies detected, he took to arms and fortified himself in Beaugency; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him, he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. Actuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the Duke of Brittany, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the Lady of Beaujeu by the friendship and credit of the Duke of Orleans. This latter prince, also, perceiving the ascendant which he soon acquired over the Duke of Brittany, had engaged many of his partisans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of aggrandizing himself by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent duchy.

The barons of Brittany, who saw all favor engrossed by the Duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independency, they had regulated the number of succors which France was to send them, and had stipulated that no fortified place in Brittany should remain in possession of that monarchy: a vain precaution where revolted subjects treat with a power so much superior! the French invaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons, and, advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploermel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, discontented with this choice and jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being hotly pursued by the French, who had now made themselves masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons

of Brittany, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their sovereign.

This desertion, however, of the Bretons discouraged not the court of France from pursuing her favorite project of reducing Brittany to subjection. The situation of Europe appeared favorable to the execution of this design. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the Duke of Brittany, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conquest of Granada; and it was also known that if France would resign to him Roussillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretensions, she could at any time engage him to abandon the interests of Brittany. England alone was both enabled by her power and engaged by her interests to support the independency of that duchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real designs, no sooner was she informed of Henry's success against Simnel and his partisans than she despatched ambassadors to the court of London, and made professions of the greatest trust and confidence in that monarch.

The ambassadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communicating to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some successes of their master against Maximilian, came, in the progress of their discourse, to mention the late transactions in Brittany. They told him that, the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that duchy: that the honor of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to prevent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fugitives were no mean or obscure persons; but among others, the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Brittany, where he still persevered in laying schemes of rebellion against his sovereign: that, the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease when the

Duke of Brittany, by returning to his duty, should remove the causes of it: that their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke, in very critical times, had conferred on Henry; but it was known also that, in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counsellors had deserted him and put his life in the utmost hazard: that his sole refuge in these desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valor and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: that France in this transaction had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what, in a narrow view, might be esteemed her own interest, since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with such virtue and abilities: and that, as both the justice of the cause and the obligations conferred on Henry thus preponderated on the side of France, she reasonably expected that, if the situation of his affairs did not permit him to give her assistance, he would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties.²

This discourse of the French ambassadors was plausible; and, to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their master's intention, after he should have settled the differences with Brittany, to lead an army into Italy and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples—a project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all these artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the king. He clearly saw that France had entertained the view of subduing Brittany; but he also perceived that she would meet with great and, as he thought, insuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that duchy, he knew, had always been considerable, and had often, without any foreign assistance, resisted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them easily abandon any enterprise which required perseverance; and as the heir of the crown was confederated with the Duke of Brittany, the ministers would be still more remiss in prosecuting a scheme which must draw on them resentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addresses to the heiress of Brittany, would be able to make a diversion

² Bacon, p. 589.

on the side of Flanders; nor could it be expected that France, if she prosecuted such ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Isabella. Above all, he thought the French court could never expect that England, so deeply interested to preserve the independency of Brittany, so able by her power and situation to give effectual and prompt assistance, would permit such an accession of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France, convinced of the impracticability of their scheme, would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprise so obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

This reasoning of Henry was solid, and might justly engage him in dilatory and cautious measures; but there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the just bounds, because founded on a ruling passion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enterprises and distant expeditions, and engaged him previously to try the expedient of negotiation. He despatched Urswic, his almoner, a man of address and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties—an offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would soon lead to a composure of all differences; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perseverance of that court in her ambitious projects. Urswic found the Lady of Beaujeu, now Duchess of Bourbon, engaged in the siege of Nantz, and had the satisfaction to find that his master's offer of mediation was readily embraced, and with many expressions of confidence and moderation. That able princess concluded that the Duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Brittany, foreseeing that every accommodation must be made at his expense, would use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected, and would by that means make an apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the English ambassador made the same offer to the Duke of Brittany, he received for answer, in the name of that prince, that, having so long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected from a monarch of such virtue more effectual assistance, in his present distresses, than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms; that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient

to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as king of England, should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Brittany and its annexation to the crown of France; that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile disposition which had always subsisted between those rival nations; that Brittany, so useful an ally, which, by its situation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England; and that, if the Duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy, but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not that of a mediator.

When this answer was reported to the king, he abandoned not the plan which he had formed; he only concluded that some more time was requisite to quell the obstinacy of the Bretons and make them submit to reason. And when he learned that the people of Brittany, anxious for their duke's safety, had formed a tumultuary army of sixty thousand men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz, he fortified himself the more in his opinion that the court of France would at last be reduced, by multiplied obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Brittany to subjection. He continued, therefore, his scheme of negotiation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry, who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent Lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Brittany. The king, on his part, despatched another embassy, consisting of Urswic, the Abbot of Abingdon, and Sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable treaty. No effectual succors, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, brother to the queen-dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers and to transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal from the King, who was desirous of preserving the appearance of a strict neutrality. That nobleman,

however, still persisted in his purpose. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of four hundred men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of Henry, sailed with them to Brittany. This enterprise proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomfited. Woodville and all the English were put to the sword, together with a body of Bretons who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable.³ The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank were taken prisoners, and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The death of the duke, which followed soon after, threw affairs into a still greater confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with a final subjection.

Though the king did not prepare against these events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with sufficient vigor and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct as far as the situation of affairs would permit, yet he knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and observed that their ancient and inveterate animosity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved, therefore, to make advantage of this disposition, and draw some supplies from the people on pretence of giving assistance to the Duke of Brittany. He had summoned a Parliament at Westminster,⁴ and he soon persuaded them to grant him a considerable subsidy.⁵ But this supply, though voted by Parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppressions under which they had labored after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners, terrified with this appearance of sedition, made application to the Earl of Northumberland, and desired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to consult the king, who, unwilling to yield to

³ Argentré, *Hist. de Bretagne*, liv. xii.

⁴ November 9, 1487.

⁵ Polydore Vergil, p. 579, says that this imposition was a capitation tax; the other historians say it was a tax of two shillings in the pound.

the humors of a discontented populace, and foreseeing the pernicious consequence of such a precedent, renewed his orders for strictly levying the imposition. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the most imperious terms, which he thought would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people and make them believe him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them.⁶ They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such deep guilt, their mutinous humor prompted them to declare against the king himself; and being instigated by John Achamber, a seditious fellow of low birth, they chose Sir John Egremont their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not dismayed with an insurrection so precipitate and ill-supported. He immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the Earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement and received into favor. His intention was to send down these troops in order to check the progress of the rebels, while he himself should follow with a greater body, which would absolutely insure success. But Surrey thought himself strong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude, and he succeeded in the attempt. The rebels were dissipated; John Achamber was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with some of his accomplices; Sir John Egremont fled to the Duchess of Burgundy, who gave him protection; the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

[1489.] Henry had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from Parliament, that he should be able to terminate the affair of Brittany by negotiation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the distresses of the Bretons still multiplied and became every day more urgent, he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous measures in order to support them. On the death of the Duke, the French had revived some antiquated claims to the dominion of the duchy; and as the Duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hostilities could no longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Brittany, and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people by opposing himself to the progress of the French power. Besides entering into

⁶ Bacon, p. 595.

a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were distant resources, he levied a body of troops, to the number of six thousand men, with an intention of transporting them into Brittany. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expenses, he concluded a treaty with the young duchess by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two seaport towns, there to remain till she should entirely refund the charges of the armament.⁷ Though he engaged for the service of these troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the duchess obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to submit to such rigid conditions, imposed by an ally so much concerned in interest to protect her. The forces arrived under the command of Lord Willoughby of Broke, and made the Bretons, during some time, masters of the field. The French retired into their garrisons, and expected, by dilatory measures, to waste the fire of the English and disgust them with the enterprise. The scheme was well laid and met with success. Lord Broke found such discord and confusion in the councils of Brittany that no measures could be concerted for any undertaking, no supply obtained, no provisions, carriages, artillery, or military stores procured. The whole court was rent into factions: no one minister had acquired the ascendant; and whatever project was formed by one was sure to be traversed by another. The English, disconcerted in every enterprise by these animosities and uncertain counsels, returned home as soon as the time of their service was elapsed, leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been consigned into their hands. During their stay in Brittany they had only contributed still farther to waste the country, and by their departure they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succor which Henry in this important conjuncture afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost distress.

The great object of the domestic dissensions in Brittany was the disposal of the young duchess in marriage. The Mareschal Rieux, favored by Henry, seconded the suit of the Lord d'Albret, who led some forces to her assistance. The Chancellor Montauban, observing the aversion of the duchess to this suitor, insisted that a petty prince, such as D'Albret, was unable to support Anne in her present extremities; and he recommended some more powerful alliance,

⁷ Du Tillet, *Recueil des Traités*.

particularly that of Maximilian, King of the Romans. [1490.] This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy; and the duchess thenceforth assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all she gained by her marriage. Maximilian, destitute of troops and money, and embarrassed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could send no succor to his distressed consort; while D'Albret, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deserted her cause, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the duchy, both for strength and riches.

The French court now began to change their scheme with regard to the subjection of Brittany. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, who, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of Queen of France. Besides the rich dowry which she brought the king, she was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy, and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. These circumstances had so blinded both Maximilian and Henry that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to discover that engagements seemingly so advantageous, and so solemnly entered into, could be infringed and set aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the natives and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprise; and that, even if he should overrun the country and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the duchess could fully reannex that fief to the crown; and the present and certain enjoyment of so considerable a territory seemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy—a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur and even security of the French monarchy; while that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils was, therefore, concluded to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated,

and the espousal of the Duchess of Brittany by the King of France.

It was necessary that this expedient, which had not been foreseen by any court in Europe, and which they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should be discovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry in the conduct of this delicate enterprise were wise and political. While they pressed Brittany with all the rigors of war, they secretly gained the Count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Bretons; and having also engaged in their interest the Prince of Orange, cousin-german to the duchess, they gave him his liberty and sent him into Brittany. These partisans, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and displayed, though still with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French monarchy. They represented to the barons of Brittany that their country, harassed, during so many years, with perpetual war, had need of some repose, and of a solid and lasting peace with the only power that was formidable to them; that their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even present protection, and, by closely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy; that their vicinity exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy, and the happiest event which, in such a situation, could befall them would be to attain a peace, though by a final submission to France, and by the loss of that liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors; and that any other expedient compatible with the honor of the state and their duty to their sovereign was preferable to a scene of such disorder and devastation.

These suggestions had influence with the Bretons; but the chief difficulty lay in surmounting the prejudices of the young duchess herself. That princess had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earliest infancy, had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and, as she now deemed him her husband, she could not, she thought, without incurring the greatest guilt and violating the most solemn engagements, contract a marriage with any other person. [1491.] In order to overcome her obstinacy, Charles gave the Duke of

Orleans his liberty, who, though formerly a suitor to the duchess, was now contented to ingratiate himself with the king by employing in his favor all the interest which he still possessed in Brittany. Mareschal Rieux and Chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his mediation; and these rival ministers now concurred with the Prince of Orange and the Count of Dunois in pressing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. By their suggestion, Charles advanced with a powerful army and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess, who, assailed on all hands, and finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city and agreed to espouse the King of France. She was married at Langey, in Touraine; conducted to St. Denis, where she was crowned; thence made her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

The triumph and success of Charles was the most sensible mortification to the King of the Romans. He had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated, during some years, as Queen of France; he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and which would have rendered the tie indissoluble; these considerations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

The King of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; and, though the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of superior power could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth such as Charles could not but give him the highest displeasure, and prompt him to seek vengeance after all remedy for his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with

him than either pride or revenge ; and he sought even from his present disappointments the gratification of this ruling passion. On pretence of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a *Benevolence* on his people⁸—a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near ten thousand pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended : if the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them ; if their method of living were splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expenses. This device was by some called Chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

So little apprehensive was the king of a Parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary imposition that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster ; and he even expected to enrich himself farther by working on their passions and prejudices. He knew the displeasure which the English had conceived against France on account of the acquisition of Brittany, and he took care to insist on that topic in the speech which he himself pronounced to the Parliament. He told them that France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV. : that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury ; that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain, by force of arms, so just a title transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors : that Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincour were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy ; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue : that a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris—events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers : that the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause

⁸ Rymer, vol. xii. p. 446. Bacon says that the benevolence was levied with consent of Parliament, which is a mistake.

of her losing these foreign dominions, and her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them : that, where such lasting honor was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure : and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself ; and hoped, by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase rather than diminish the riches of the nation.⁹

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the personal character of the man, and still more from the situation of affairs, that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the same condition as when such successful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown ; the princes of the blood were desirous of tranquillity ; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran soldiers ; and the general aspect of her affairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbors than to promise them any considerable advantages against her. The levity and vainglory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles, but were ill seconded by military power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a show of war, was actually negotiating for peace ; and, rather than expose himself to any hazard, would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontents ; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally, James III., who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made way for the succession of his son, James IV., who was devoted to the French interest, and would surely be alarmed at any important progress of the English arms. But all these obvious considerations had no influence on the Parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, they gave in to the snare prepared for them and voted the supply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him ; and, the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed empowering them to sell their estates without paying any fines for alienation.

[1492.] The nobility were universally seized with a desire of military glory ; and having credulously swallowed all

⁹ Bacon, p. 601.

the boasts of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them borrowed large sums or sold off manors that they might appear in the field with greater splendor and lead out their followers in more complete order. The king crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais on the sixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford; but as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference. "He had come over," he said, "to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was, therefore, of no consequence at what season he began the invasion; especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters." As if he had seriously intended this enterprise, he instantly marched into the enemy's country and laid siege to Boulogne; but notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries and informed him that Maximilian was in no readiness to join him, nor was any assistance to be expected from that quarter. Soon after, messengers came from Spain and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a cession of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises and high expectations, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the Marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during the winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Boulogne, the desertion of those allies whose assistance had been most relied on—events which might, all of them, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

In consequence of these preparatory steps, the bishop of Exeter and Lord Daubeney were sent to confer at Estaples with the Mareschal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty. A few days sufficed for that purpose; the demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the King of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, near four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money—partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Brittany, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV.; and he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his historian, made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace.¹⁰ And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise when he said to the Parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty, but he disdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason to complain; he made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franche Compté, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was affianced to the King of France.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the side of Italy, and soon after undertook the conquest of Naples—an enterprise which Henry regarded with the greater indifference as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been successful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully established at home, and every rebellion which had been attempted against him had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies and consolidate his power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavorable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him. In this prosperous situation, the king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his inveterate and inde-

¹⁰ Bacon, p. 605. Polyd. Verg. p. 586.

fatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adversary who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The Duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partisans, rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprises, was determined at least to disturb that government which she found it so difficult to subvert. By means of her emissaries she propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay somewhere concealed; and finding this rumor, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

There was one Osbec, or Warbec, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV., and had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king and obtaining his favor, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbec's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch.¹¹ Some years after the birth of this child Warbec returned to Tournay, where Perkin, his son, did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favored the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius, and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the Duchess of Burgundy, who, struck with the concurrence of so many circumstances suited to her purpose, desired to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. She found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations, so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behavior and conversation.

¹¹ Bacon, p. 606.

The lessons necessary to be taught him in order to his personating the Duke of York were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension ; but as the season seemed not then favorable for his enterprise, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of Lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

The war which was then ready to break out between France and England seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon ; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance.¹² He landed at Cork ; and, immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party ; he dispersed everywhere the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard ; and men, fond of everything new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favor.

The news soon reached France ; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the Duchess of Burgundy and the intrigues of one Frion, a secretary of Henry's who had deserted his service, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the Duke of York ; settled on him a handsome pension, assigned him magnificent lodgings, and, in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person, of which Lord Congresal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt : Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree ; and the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England : Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed Duke of York, and to share his fortunes ; and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attend-

¹² Polyd. Verg. p. 589.

ing him, and began to entertain hopes of final success in his undertakings.

[1493.] When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the Duchess of Burgundy, and, craving her protection and assistance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princess affected ignorance of his pretensions; even put on the appearance of distrust; and having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel, she was determined never again to be seduced by any impostor. She desired before all the world to be instructed in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore; seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected astonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honored him with the appellation of the *White Rose of England*. The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent; no surmise of his true birth was yet heard of; little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion; and the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favor of the impostor.

It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretensions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and some of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination towards him; Sir William Stanley himself, lord chamberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, en-

tertained the project of a revolt in favor of his enemy.¹³ Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their measures; they went over to Flanders, were introduced by the Duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England that he knew perfectly the person of Richard, Duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of rank and character, was sufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention and wonder even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority; and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real Duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it: Sir James Tyrrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpose, and who had seen the dead princes; Forest, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tyrrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the priest was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.

He met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more successful, in detecting who this wonderful person was that thus boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conspirator, he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, sometimes his confessor,

¹³ Bacon, p. 608.

and by these means he traced up some other confederate. Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets committed to him. The more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them; some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematized in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies; and, in the issue, the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him, and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended Duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation; the conspirators he reserved for a slower and a surer vengeance.

[1494.] Meanwhile he remonstrated with the Archduke Philip on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so infamous an impostor, contrary to treaties subsisting between the sovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demesnes of the duchess-dowager; and the king, in resentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects from these provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry knew that so mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humors of their prince, to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

He had it in his power to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies; and when his projects were sufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his resentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Mountfort, Ratcliffe, and Daubeney were immediately executed; Fitzwater was sent over to Calais, and detained in custody; but being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with William Worseley, Dean of St. Paul's, and some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial.¹⁴

¹⁴ Polyd. Verg. p. 532.

Greater and more solemn preparations were deemed requisite for the trial of Stanley, lord chamberlain, whose authority in the nation, whose domestic connections with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himself at the king's feet while he sat in council, craving pardon for past offences, and offering to atone for them by any services which should be required of him. Henry then told him that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices, however distinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accused Stanley, then present, as the chief abettor, and offered to lay before the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himself could not discover more surprise than was affected by Henry on the occasion. He received the intelligence as absolutely false and incredible that a man to whom he was in a great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom, by every honor and favor, he had endeavored to express his gratitude; whose brother, the Earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the trust of his person by creating him lord chamberlain—that this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, not actuated by any motive of discontent or apprehension, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clifford was, therefore, exhorted to weigh well the consequences of his accusation; but as he persisted in the same positive asseverations, Stanley was committed to custody, and was soon after examined before the council.¹⁵ He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavor much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would serve as an atonement, or trusted to his present connections and his former services for pardon and security. But princes are often apt to regard great services as a ground of jealousy, especially if accompanied with a craving and restless disposition in the person who has performed them. The general discontent, also, and mutinous humor of the people seemed to require some great example of severity. [1495.] And as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of above three thousand pounds a year in land and forty thousand

¹⁵ Bacon, p. 611. Polyd. Verg. p. 593.

marks in plate and money, besides other property of great value, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was deemed no small motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities against him. After six weeks' delay, which was interposed in order to show that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians are not agreed with regard, to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is that he should have said in confidence to Clifford that if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to King Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster but could scarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is asserted by some historians, that he had expressly engaged to assist Perkin, and had actually sent him some supply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clifford's desertion they found that all their secrets were betrayed; and as it appeared that Stanley, while he seemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged, nay, every word which fell from him, a general distrust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed even among intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his great reputation for sagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, crept out against Henry's person and administration; and being greedily propagated by every secret art, showed that there still remained among the people a considerable root of discontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the terrors of his people than on gaining their affections. Trusting to the great success which attended him in all his enterprises, he gave every day, more and more, a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverting law and justice in order to exact fines and compositions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, and was

obliged to compound for sixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of these arts of chicanery was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted and honored and caressed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive; but it was so much the less burdensome as, by his extending royal authority and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the sole oppressor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of six hundred men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, since all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity. Information being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion. They carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces who had taken arms against established authority, refused to intrust himself in their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed; and besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned, and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes.¹⁶

This year a Parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English Parliament enacted that no person who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for

¹⁶ Polyd. Verg. p. 595.

the time being should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of Parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. This statute might be exposed to some censure, as favorable to usurpers, were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor and render every one inexcusable who did not submit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics in its own favor, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance. Henry, conscious of his disputed title, promoted this law in order to secure his partisans against all events; but as he had himself observed a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend that, during the violence which usually ensues on public convulsions, his example, rather than his law, would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future Parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government.

This Parliament also passed an act empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence—a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been sent over to that country with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprise; the Irish, by flying into their woods, morasses, and mountains, for some time eluded his efforts; but Poynings summoned a Parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute, all the former laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irish Parliament unless it previously receive the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seems calculated for insuring the dominion of the English, but was really granted at the desire of the Irish Commons, who intended by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants or deputies as were of Irish birth.¹⁷

¹⁷ Sir John Davis, p. 235.

While Henry's authority was thus established throughout his dominions and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid success which attended Charles in that rash and ill concerted enterprise. The Italians, who had entirely lost the use of arms, and who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were dispersed everywhere on the approach of the French army. Their best fortified cities opened their gates; kingdoms and states were in an instant overturned; and through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without resistance, they seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than making conquests over an enemy. The maxims which the Italians, during that age, followed in negotiations were as ill calculated to support their states as the habits to which they were addicted in war; a treacherous, deceitful, and inconsistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honor which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico, Duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never desired or expected their success, and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among several potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests and secure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the Pope, Maximilian, King of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy, but was not put to any expense or trouble in consequence of his engagements. The King of France, terrified by so powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, soon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been suddenly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died soon after, and left his uncle, Frederic, in full possession of the throne.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PERKIN RETIRES TO SCOTLAND.—INSURRECTION IN THE WEST.—
 —BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH.—TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.—
 PERKIN TAKEN PRISONER.—PERKIN EXECUTED.—THE
 EARL OF WARWICK EXECUTED.—MARRIAGE OF PRINCE
 ARTHUR WITH CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.—HIS DEATH.—
 MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET WITH THE KING
 OF SCOTLAND.—OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE.—A PARLIA-
 MENT.—ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF CASTILE.—INTRIGUES
 OF THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.—SICKNESS OF THE KING.—
 HIS DEATH—AND CHARACTER.—HIS LAWS.

AFTER Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent he retired into Flanders ; but as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himself and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that island into so good a posture that Perkin met with little success ; and being tired of the savage life which he was obliged to lead while skulking among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the King of France, who was disgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him ; and this recommendation was even seconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his prohibiting in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by these princes procured him a favorable reception with the King of Scotland, who assured him that, whatever he were, he never should repent putting himself into his hands.¹ The insinuating address and plausible behavior of the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, was seduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth and ad-

ventures; and he carried his confidence so far as to give him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley and related to himself—a young lady, too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

There subsisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward, on that account, to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress or difficulty. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself dispersed a manifesto, in which he set forth his own story and craved the assistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and maladministration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean persons, whose oppression of the people by multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions, attended with repeated disappointments, were now become stale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hostile dispositions which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince supported by the Scots but an unwelcome present to the English nation. The ravages also committed by the borderers, accustomed to license and disorder, struck a terror into all men, and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered subjects, and publicly remonstrated with his ally against the depredations exercised by the Scottish army;² but James told him that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and, hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation; his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impositions on his own subjects. He summoned a Parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the

² Polyd. Verg. p. 598.

irruption of the Scots, the absurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed in the northern counties, and the multiplied insults thus offered both to the king and the kingdom of England. The Parliament made the expected return to this discourse by granting a subsidy to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, together with two-fifteenths. After making this grant they were dismissed.

[1497.] The vote of Parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry ; but he found it not so easy to levy the money upon his subjects. The people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion ; and it is probable that the flaw which was universally known to be in his title made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill-humor was farther excited by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thrusting himself forward on every occasion and being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammoe, too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighborhood, encouraged the sedition by informing them that the tax, though imposed by Parliament, was entirely illegal ; that the northern nobility were bound, by their tenures, to defend the nation against the Scots ; and that, if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his ministers would soon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said, must deliver to the king a petition, seconded by such a force as would give it authority ; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to show that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redress of all those grievances under which the people had so long labored.

Encouraged by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves with axes, bills, bows, and such weapons as country people are usually possessed of. Flammoe and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon

conducted the Cornish through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton, the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious and restless in temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret correspondence with the first movers of the insurrection, and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by so considerable a nobleman, they continued their march, breathing destruction to the king's ministers and favorites, particularly to Morton, now a cardinal, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no resistance, they committed, during their march, no violence or disorder.

The rebels had been told by Flammoc that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conquest, would surely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately distinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invasion; and as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgments for this service, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated to his government. It was easy, therefore, for the Earl of Kent, Lord Abergavenny, and Lord Cobham, who possessed great authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not discontents everywhere, but no one would take part in so rash and ill-concerted an enterprise; and besides the situation in which the king's affairs then stood discouraged even the boldest and most daring.

Henry, in order to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of Lord Daulbeney, the chamberlain; and as soon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march southwards and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier

defenceless, he despatched thither the Earl of Surrey, who assembled the forces on the borders and made head against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents that can befall a monarchy: a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown; but he enjoyed great resources in his army and treasure, and still more in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions he had always hastened to a decision, and it was a usual saying with him "that he desired but to see his rebels;" but as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and committed no spoil on the country; as they received no accession of force on their march or in their encampment; and as such hasty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay, he took post in London and assiduously prepared the means of insuring victory.

After all his forces were collected, he divided them into three bodies and marched out to assail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, and under him by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped; the second, and most considerable, Henry put under the command of Lord Daubeney, and ordered him to attack the enemy in front and bring on the action; the third he kept as a body of reserve about his own person, and took post in St. George's fields, where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had spread a report that he was not to attack them till some days after; and the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the ascent of the hill and placed himself in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being sixteen thousand strong, and were not defective in valor; but being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt for the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them and was taken prisoner, but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resist-

ance, the rebels were broken and put to flight.³ Lord Audley, Flammoe, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter seemed even to exult in his end, and boasted, with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels, being surrounded on every side by the king's troops, were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed without farther punishment: whether that Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and simplicity of the multitude, or favored them on account of their inoffensive behavior, or was pleased that they had never, during their insurrection, disputed his title, and had shown no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

The Scottish king was not idle during these commotions in England. He levied a considerable army, and sat down before the castle of Norham, in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox, Bishop of Durham, so well provided both with men and ammunition that he made little or no progress in the siege. Hearing that the Earl of Surrey had collected some forces and was advancing upon him, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who besieged and took Aiton, a small castle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. These unsuccessful or frivolous attempts on both sides prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less desirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity by making the first advances, he employed in his friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negotiating the marriage of the Infanta Catherine, their daughter, with Arthur, Prince of Wales.⁴

Hialas took a journey northward and offered his mediation between James and Henry, as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to meet and confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was that Perkin should be put into their hands. James replied that he himself was no judge of the young man's pretensions, but hav-

³ Polyd. Verg. p. 601.

⁴ Polyd. Verg. p. 603.

ing received him as a supplicant and promised him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generosity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: they required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England; the Scottish commissioners replied that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss than their master to repair it. Henry's commissioners next proposed that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle in order to adjust all differences; but James said that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a-begging for it. Lest the conferences should break off altogether without affect, a truce was concluded for some months; and James, perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland he himself never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart the kingdom.

Access was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss resulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council that commissioners were sent to London in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed that all English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries, and in this prohibition the demesnes of the duchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished which was favorable to the Flemings, and to which they long gave the appellation of *Intercursus magnus*, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

Perkin was a Fleming by descent, though born in England; and it might, therefore, be doubted whether he were included in the treaty between the two nations; but as he must dismiss all his English retainers if he took shelter in the Low Countries, and as he was sure of a cold reception, if not bad usage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England, he thought fit rather to hide himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley,

three broken tradesmen; by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still subsisted after the suppression of their rebellion. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin, in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., King of England. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter, and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place; but, being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king informing him of this insurrection; the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succor from the well-known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to pretensions which had so long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, sensible that their activity on this occasion would be the most acceptable service which they could render the king, displayed their zeal for the enterprise and forwarded his preparations. The Lords Daubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap-Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The Earl of Devonshire and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The Duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop consisting of young noblemen and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army; and thus all England seemed united against a pretender who had at first engaged their attention and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanc-

tuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honor. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a respectable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

Henry deliberated what course to take with Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state, to take him by violence from the sanctuary, to inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity, and thus at once put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people and the artifices of malcontents were still capable of reviving. But the king deemed not the matter of such importance as to merit so violent a remedy. He employed some persons to deal with Perkin and persuade him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands.⁵ The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin passed along the road and through the streets of the city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the highest derision his fallen fortunes. They seemed desirous of revenging themselves, by their insults, for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Pekin's real parentage, Henry required of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be dispersed, soon after, for the satisfaction of the public. But, as his regard to decency made him entirely suppress the share which the Duchess of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the silence on that head, to pay the less credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

But Perkin, though his life was granted him, was still detained in custody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers,

⁵ Polyd. Verg. p. 606.

and, flying to the sanctuary of Shyne, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of sanctity ; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But, in order to reduce him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged, in both places, to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, and by their means opened a correspondence with the Earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had, from his earliest youth, been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a simplicity which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread, also, of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape by the murder of the lieutenant ; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance ; it was even very generally believed that the scheme had been laid by himself in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the snare ; but the subsequent execution of two of Digby's servants for the contrivance seems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character than on any positive evidence.

Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy ; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, persisting still in the confession of his imposture.⁶ It happened, about that very time, than one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the Earl of Warwick ; and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people, who seemed still to retain a propensity to adopt it. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity towards that prince. He was brought to trial and accused, not of contriving his escape (for as he was committed for no crime, the desire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and

⁶ See note [P] at the end of the volume.

innocent), but of forming designs to disturb the government and raise an insurrection among the people. Warwick confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the sentence was executed upon him.

This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, who saw an unhappy prince that had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at last deprived of life itself merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he labored. In vain did Henry endeavor to alleviate the odium of this guilt by sharing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur while any male descendant of the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

But though these discontents festered in the minds of men, they were so checked by Henry's watchful policy and steady severity that they seemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely secure, paid him rather the greater deference and attention. The Archduke Philip, in particular, desired an interview with him; and Henry, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church, near that city. The archduke, on his approaching the king, made haste to alight, and offered to hold Henry's stirrup; a mark of condescension which that prince would not admit of. He called the king *father*, *patron*, *protector*, and, by his whole behavior, expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The Duke of Orleans had succeeded to the crown of France, by the appellation of Lewis XII.; and having carried his arms into Italy and subdued the duchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counsel, therefore, of these monarchs the young prince endeavored by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance seems to have been concerted between these two princes in their interview; all passed in general professions of affection and regard, at least in remote projects of a closer union by the

future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.

The pope, too, Alexander VI., neglected not the friendship of a monarch whose reputation was spread over Europe. [1500.] He sent a nuncio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in person his forces against the infidels. The general frenzy for crusades was now entirely exhausted in Europe, but it was still thought a necessary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those pious enterprises. Henry regretted to the nuncio the distance of his situation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his person in defence of the Christian cause. He promised, however, his utmost assistance by aids and contributions; and rather than the pope should go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promised to overlook all other considerations and to attend him in person. He only required, as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some seaport towns in Italy should be consigned to him for his retreat and security. It was easy to conclude that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any way against the Turk; but as a great name, without any real assistance, is sometimes of service, the Knights of Rhodes, who were at that time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order.

But the prince whose alliance Henry valued the most was Ferdinand of Arragon, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable similarity of character between these two princes: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity where the interests of the parties in the least interfere, such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand that no jealousy ever on any occasion arose between them. [1501.] The king had now the satisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. [1502.] But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation.

Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created Prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but, as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties—an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences.

The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James, King of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, though interrupted by several broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord with that neighboring kingdom, by whose animosity England had so often been infested. When this marriage was deliberated on in the English council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. [1503.] "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event will only become an accession to England." Amidst these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity, which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in childbed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favorite of the nation; and the general affection for her increased on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from her consort.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every respect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negotiation, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connections with Spain and Scotland insured his tranquillity, and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigor of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncontrolled, therefore, by apprehension or opposition of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by

absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice, to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities.

It was their usual practice at first to observe so far the appearance of law as to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress, upon which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial, and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two ministers sent forth their precepts to attach men and summon them before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, where, in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas for the crown and controversies between private parties. Juries themselves, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject, being browbeaten by these oppressors, nay, fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave sentence against the inclination of the ministers. The whole system of the feudal law, which still prevailed, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not suffered to enter into possession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also harassed with informations of intrusion upon scarce colorable titles. When an outlawry in a personal action was issued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon except on the payment of a great sum; and if he refused the composition required of him, the strict law which, in such cases, allows forfeiture of goods was rigorously insisted on. Nay, without any color of law, the half of men's lands and rents were seized during two years as a penalty in case of outlawry. But the chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men; spies, informers,

and inquisitors were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money and bring every one under the lash of their authority.⁷

Through the prevalence of such an arbitrary and iniquitous administration, the English, it may safely be affirmed, were considerable losers by their ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxations except such as were imposed by their own consent in Parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleasure, he would naturally have abstained from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all security in private property and begat an universal diffidence throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the Parliament, which was pretty frequently summoned during this reign. [1504]. That assembly was so overawed that at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, the Commons chose Dudley their speaker, the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities. And though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprises of any kind, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded. [1505]. But so insatiable was his avarice that next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expense, he so filled his coffers that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds—a treasure almost incredible if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.⁸

But while Henry was enriching himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event abroad which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, Queen of Castile, died about this time; and it was foreseen that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand, her husband, would be much affected.

⁷ Bacon, pp. 629, 630. Hollingshed, p. 504. Polyd. Verg. pp. 613, 615.

⁸ Silver was, during this reign, at thirty-seven shillings and sixpence a pound, which makes Henry's treasure near three millions of our present money. Besides many commodities have become above thrice as dear by the increase of gold and silver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present. These circumstances make Henry's treasure appear very great, and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his government.

The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful lest the general system of Europe should be affected by so important an event: he also considered the similarity of his own situation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heir of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew that, notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the Prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the partisans of the York family he had more closely united them into one party, and increased their desire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long labored, and of taking every advantage which his oppressive government should give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himself, by his narrow politics, had confirmed in factious prejudices, he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

Nothing at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as well as Henry, had become very unpopular, and from a like cause—his former exactions and impositions; and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of these favorable dispositions, the archduke, now King of Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season, but, meeting with a violent tempest in the Channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbor of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had assembled some forces, and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his sickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house; and immediately despatched a messenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king sent in all haste the Earl of Arundel to compliment Philip.

on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's consent; and therefore, for the sake of despatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible, and with all seeming cordiality; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to draw some advantage from this involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest.

Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the Earl of Lincoln slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden fit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but, being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more resenting the affront than grateful for the favor, had fled into Flanders and taken shelter with his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy; but being promised forgiveness by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneasy from debts which he had contracted by his great expense at Prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk by making him a tender of his services. Upon information secretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courtney, eldest son to the Earl of Devonshire, and married to the Lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Windham, with some persons of inferior quality, and he committed them to custody. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were also apprehended, but were soon after released from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courtney was attainted, and, though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's lifetime. But Henry's chief severity fell upon Sir James Windham and

Sir James Tyrrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed. The fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curson was still able to maintain his credit with the Earl of Suffolk. Henry, in order to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted the earl and came over to England, where the king received him with unusual marks of favor and confidence. Suffolk, astonished at this instance of perfidy, finding that even the Duchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled secretly into France, thence into Germany, and at last returned into the Low Countries, where he was protected, though not countenanced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

[1507.] Henry neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to his guest of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied the King of Castile, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence; but, to give you satisfaction, I shall banish him my state." "I expect that you will carry your complaisance farther," said the king; "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his submission and obedience." "That measure," said Philip, "will reflect dishonor upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." "Then the matter is at an end," replied the king, "for I will take that dishonor upon me; and so your honor is saved."⁹ The King of Castile found himself under a necessity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip; as if the king would grant him a pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the Tower; and the King of Castile, having fully satisfied Henry as well by this concession as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castile which was advantageous to the former kingdom,¹⁰ was at last allowed to depart, after a stay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received

⁹ Bacon, p. 638.

¹⁰ Rymer, vol. xlii. p. 142.

by the Castellans, and put in possession of the throne. He died soon after; and Joan, his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

The king survived these transactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign except his affiancing his second daughter, Mary, to the young archduke Charles, son of Philip of Castile. He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the Queen-dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the Duchess-dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts, and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he labored, he endeavored, by distributing alms and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, but not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against the iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two sheriffs were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they made payment. [1509.] The king gave countenance to all these oppressions, till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favorite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.¹¹

The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home and honorable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, to-

¹¹ Dugd. Baron. ii. p. 237.

gether with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war; though agitated with continual suspicions of his servants and ministers, he discovered no timidity either in the conduct of his affairs or in the day of battle; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The services which he rendered the people were derived from his views of private advantage rather than the motives of public spirit; and where he deviated from interested regards, it was unknown to himself, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction or the mean projects of avarice, not from the sallies of passion or allurements of pleasure, still less from the benign motives of friendship and generosity. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart; he possessed insinuation and address, but never employed these talents except where some great point of interest was to be gained; and while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of resting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs, but possessed not the faculty of seeing far into futurity, and was more expert at providing a remedy for his mistakes than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling passion;¹² and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a higher station, and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition. Even among private persons avarice is commonly nothing but a species of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the prospect of that regard, distinction, and consideration which attend on riches.

The power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of the great charter, as during that of Henry. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man, full of vigor, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprise, he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had

¹² As a proof of Henry's attention to the smallest profits, Bacon tells us that he had seen a book of accounts kept by Empson, and subscribed in almost every leaf by the king's own hand. Among other articles was the following: "*Item, Received of such a one five marks for a pardon, which if it do not pass the money to be repaid, or the party otherwise satisfied.*" Opposite to the memorandum the king had writ with his own hand, "*otherwise satisfied.*" Bacon, p. 630.

destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority; the people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries; the fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority. As he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the expense of justice and national privileges. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws which he made be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign both with regard to the police of the kingdom and its commerce; but the former are generally contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more simple ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice; but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed that even in the age of Lord Bacon very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

Early in Henry's reign the authority of the Star-chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice, was, in some cases, confirmed by act of Parliament.¹³ Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that historian, to feel that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the spirit of independence still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of Parliament in the reign of Charles I., a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

Laws were passed in this reign ordaining the king's suit for murder to be carried on within a year and a day.¹⁴ For-

¹³ See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

¹⁴ 3 Henry VII. cap. 1.

merly it did not usually commence till after ; and as the friends of the person murdered often, in the interval, compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently passed unpunished. Suits were given to the poor *in formâ pauperis*, as it is called ; that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the counsel¹⁵—a good law at all times, especially in that age, when the people labored under the oppression of the great ; but a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force.¹⁶ The benefit of clergy was abridged ;¹⁷ and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand, with a letter denoting his crime ; after which he was punished capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any person without previously summoning him before their court.¹⁸ It is strange that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value¹⁹—a law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any servant of the king's conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the punishment of felony.²⁰ This statute was enacted for the security of Archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers.

There scarcely passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers and giving them badges or liveries²¹—a practice by which they were, in a manner, enlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice.²² This disorder, which had prevailed during many reigns, when the law could give little protection to the subject, was then deeply rooted in England ; and it required all the vigilance and rigor of Henry to extirpate it. There is a story of his severity against this abuse ; and it seems to merit praise, though it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The Earl of Oxford, his favorite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved con-

¹⁵ 11 Henry VII. cap. 12.¹⁷ 4 Henry VII. cap. 13.¹⁹ 11 Henry VII. cap. 24. 19 Henry VII. cap. 100.²¹ 3 Henry VII. cap. 1 and 12. 11 Henry VII. cap. 3.²² 3 Henry VII. cap. 12. 11 Henry VII. cap. 25.¹⁶ 3 Henry VII. cap. 2.¹⁸ 11 Henry VII. cap. 15.²⁰ 3 Henry VII. cap. 13.

19 Henry VII. cap. 14.

fidence, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Henningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality, but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen whom I see on both sides of me are no doubt your menial servants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. "They are most of them," subjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honored with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks as a composition for his offence.

The increase of the arts, more effectually than all the severities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavored to excel in the splendor and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to learn some calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and to others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that, as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families, so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron.²³

But the most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates.²⁴ By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually

²³ See note [R] at the end of the volume.

²⁴ 4 Henry VII. cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails by means of a fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward IV.; but it was not, properly speaking, law till the statute of Henry VII., which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a sanction to it.

dissipated, and the property of the Commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him.

The king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which increased his customs; but if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury.²⁵ Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as savoring of usury,²⁶ which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts by which profits could be made from the loan of money were also carefully guarded against.²⁷ It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous were these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may observe, however, to the praise of this king, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view.²⁸

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion²⁹—a precaution which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried that merchants alien who imported commodities into the kingdom were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner.³⁰

It was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful in the kingdom.³¹ In order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and fourpence,³² reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation must be either that the people would be supplied with bad bows or none at all. Prices were also affixed to woollen cloth,³³ to caps and hats;³⁴ and the wages of laborers were regulated by law.³⁵ It is

²⁵ 3 Henry VII. cap. 5.

²⁶ 3 Henry VII. cap. 6.

²⁷ 7 Henry VII. cap. 8.

²⁸ Polyd. Verg.

²⁹ 4 Henry VII. cap. 23.

³⁰ 3 Henry VII. cap. 8.

³¹ 11 Henry VII. cap. 13.

³² 3 Henry VII. cap. 12.

³³ 4 Henry VII. cap. 8.

³⁴ 4 Henry VII. cap. 9.

³⁵ 11 Henry VII. cap. 22.

evident that these matters ought always to be left free, and be intrusted to the common course of business and commerce. To some it may appear surprising that the price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to sixty-and-twenty shillings, money of our age; that of a yard of colored cloth to eighteen—higher prices than these commodities bear at present; and that the wages of a tradesman, such as a mason, bricklayer, tiler, &c., should be regulated at near tenpence a day, which is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labor and commodities have certainly risen since the discovery of the West Indies; but not so much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesmen and laborers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and silver. And the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value; not to mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with less profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a statute of this reign ³⁶ that goods bought for sixteenpence would sometimes be sold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities whose price has chiefly risen are butchers' meat, fowl, and fish (especially the latter), which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increase of art and industry. The profession which then abounded most, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church: by a clause of a statute, all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg without a permission from the vice-chancellor.³⁷

One great cause of the low state of industry during this period was the restraints put upon it; and the Parliament, or rather the king (for he was the prime mover in every thing), enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted during the reign of Henry IV.³⁸ that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship unless he were possessed of twenty shillings a year in land; and Henry VII., because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law.³⁹ Afterwards the whole county of

³⁶ 4 Henry VII. cap. 9.

³⁸ 4 Henry VII. cap. 17.

³⁷ 11 Henry VII. cap. 22.

³⁹ 11 Henry VII. cap. 11.

Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some branches of the woollen manufacture.⁴⁰ These absurd limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures. For a like reason, the law enacted against enclosures and for the keeping up of farm-houses⁴¹ scarcely deserves the high praises bestowed on it by Lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All methods of supporting populousness except by the interest of the proprietors are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts against depopulation; whence we may infer that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

One check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations—an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted that corporations should not pass any by-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state.⁴² They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates.⁴³ The cities of Gloucester and Worcester had even imposed tolls on the Severn, which were abolished.⁴⁴

There is a law of this reign⁴⁵ containing a preamble by which it appears that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries unless each trader previously paid them the sum of near seventy pounds. It is surprising that such a by-law (if it deserve the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of Parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

It was during this reign, on the second of August, 1492, a little before sunset, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after, Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately

⁴⁰ 12 Henry VII. cap. 1.

⁴² 19 Henry VII. cap. 7.

⁴⁴ 19 Henry VII. cap. 18.

⁴¹ 4 Henry VII. cap. 19.

⁴³ 19 Henry VII. cap. 8.

⁴⁵ 12 Henry VII. cap. 6.

concerned in those naval enterprises. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts everywhere; the nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures; men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the Commons increased by this increase of property; in most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of their kingdoms; but in all places the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII., who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his institutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them.

It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother, Bartholomew, to London in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol, and sent him westwards, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the mainland of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude; he sailed southwards along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot and other merchants in Bristol made a like attempt in 1502.⁴⁶ The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship called the *Great Harry*.⁴⁷ She

⁴⁶ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 37.

⁴⁷ Stowe, p. 484.

was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

But though this improvement of navigation and the discovery of both the Indies was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements; the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war; mighty innovations were soon after made in religion, such as not only affected those states that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the ancient faith and worship; and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world, and men gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, government, police, and cultivation in which they have ever since persevered. Here, therefore, commences the useful as well as the more agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the considerable, and even most of the minute, parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preserved by printing, give the author the power of selecting, as well as adorning, the facts which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our present manners and situation, instructive lessons occur every moment during the course of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious researches into preceding periods is moved by a curiosity liberal, indeed, and commendable, not by any necessity for acquiring knowledge of public affairs or the arts of civil government.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY VIII.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING.—HIS MINISTERS.—PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY.—KING'S MARRIAGE.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—JULIUS II.—LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—EXPEDITION TO FONTARABIA.—DECEIT OF FERDINAND.—RETURN OF THE ENGLISH.—LEO X.—A PARLIAMENT.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—WOLSEY MINISTER.—HIS CHARACTER.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—BATTLE OF GUINEGATE.—BATTLE OF FLOUDEN.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.

THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son, Henry VIII., spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne who, even in the eyes of men of sense, gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigor of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanor.¹ His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity.² Even the vices of vehemence, ardor, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were

¹ T. Mori Lucubr. p. 182.

² Father Paul, lib. 1.

now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince obnoxious to no party that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

These favorable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the Countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely showed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards Lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards Lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat.³ These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favor and authority under the new king were the Earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed by his remonstrances those schemes of dissipation and expense which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humor of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which began to prevail under the young monarch.⁴ By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him negligent of affairs and willing to intrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another; tilts, tournaments, and carousals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and as the present tranquillity of

³ Herbert. Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799.

⁴ Herbert.

the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favorite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made such proficiency in the former art as even to compose ~~some~~ pieces of church music which were sung in his chapel.⁵ He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients; and though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favorite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

The frank and careless humor of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation;⁶ they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately summoned before the council in order to answer for their conduct which had rendered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council that, so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamor on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation; that a strict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused, though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was intrusted by the constitution; that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful, since they were all alike valid so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature; that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority, but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in

⁵ Herbert.

⁶ Herbert. Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799. Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

the just distribution of rewards and punishments, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction; and that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects.⁷

Notwithstanding this defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the secret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo too severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them: that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them, which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in Parliament,⁸ and, at the earnest desire of the people, was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated whether the king sought power and riches or courted popularity.

Henry, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such a deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the Infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother and the inequality of their years were the chief objections urged against his espousing her; but, on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as Princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the

⁷ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 804.

⁸ This Parliament met on January 21st, 1510. A law was there enacted in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years. Costs and damages were given against informers upon acquittal of the accused; more severe punishments were enacted against perjury; the false inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley were declared null and invalid; traverses were allowed, and the time of tendering them enlarged. 1 Henry VIII., cap. 8, 10, 11, 12.

necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king; when these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The Countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died soon after the marriage of her grandson.

The popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his extensive authority, his large treasures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous; the situation of foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy continued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties, at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprises; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavored by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples and the expulsion of Frederic—a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic, supported only by subjects who were either discontented with his government or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions; but he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honor with the appellation of the *Great Captain*, to attack the armies of France and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo prevailed in every enterprise, defeated the French in

two pitched battles, and insured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy, during some time, was held in suspense between these two powerful monarchs.

There had scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation or even pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts fraudulent, indeed, and deceitful, but full of vigor and ability. Lewis XII., a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian, the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles, Prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and, being as yet in early youth, the government was intrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II., an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flame of war and discord among them. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray,⁹ between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

The great force and secure situation of the considerable

⁹ In 1508.

monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment ; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humor and caprice rather than by any natural or durable interest. [1510.] Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of this age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians.¹⁰ He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis ; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterprise, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the Duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favor of England by sending Henry a sacred rose perfumed with musk and anointed with chrism.¹¹ He engaged in his interests Bambridge, Archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he soon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at first made no declaration of his intentions. And, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

[1511.] While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him, as much as possible, of that sacred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged some cardinals disgusted with the violence of Julius to desert him ; and by their authority he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a general council, which might reform the Church and check the exorbitances of the Roman pontiff. A council was summoned at Pisa which from the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed the king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their resi-

¹⁰ Guicciardini, lib. 8.

¹¹ Spell. Concil. vol. ii. p. 725.

dence, showed them signs of contempt, which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan, and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons.¹² Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favor of papal authority by the symptoms which he discovered of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

The enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and, like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the rigors of winter and a severe season in pursuit of military glory;¹³ yet was he still able to throw even on his most moderate opponents the charge of impiety and profaneness. He summoned a council at the Lateran; he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it; he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the surname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics; Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. [1512.] Hopes had been given him by Julius that the title of *Most Christian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the Crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in re-

¹² Guicciardini, lib. 10.

¹³ Guicciardini, lib. 9.

ward of his services, be transferred to that of England.¹⁴ Impatient, also, of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to be a declaration of war; and a Parliament being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favored by the English nation.¹⁵

Buonaviso, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him: "He lies, the drunkard!" said he; "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince considered his close connections with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him; he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law that he even sent vessels to England in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The Marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand

¹⁴ Guicciardini, lib. 11. P. Daniel, vol. ii. p. 1893. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 831.

¹⁵ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 811.

men, mostly infantry; Lord Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey, Lord Broke, Lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military achievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generosity, was suspected by nobody.

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albret, the sovereign, was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favorable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne;¹⁶ but he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the Duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the Marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army and concert together all their operations.

Dorset began to suspect that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and, having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre or

¹⁶ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 813.

make war anywhere but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprise. He remained, therefore, in his quarters at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succor the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united counsels the operations of the *holy league*, so it was called, against Lewis; but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the King of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ferdinand despatched Martin de Ampios to London, and persuaded Henry that, by the refractory and scrupulous humor of the English general, the most favorable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile the messenger arrived with orders from Henry that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill-success of this enterprise; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appease him.

There happened this summer an action at sea which

brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was sent to the coast of Brittany with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valor. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauguet, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauguet, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense as spectators of this dreadful engagement, and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair which came from the miserable combatants. At last the French ship blew up, and at the same time destroyed the English.¹⁷ The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbors.

The war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces, for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been intrusted with the command of the French forces, and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain.¹⁸ His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the duchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovic, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

¹⁷ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27. Stowe, p. 490. Lanquet's *Epitome of Chronicles*, fol. 273.

¹⁸ Guicciardini, lib. 10.

[1513.] Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French, and the more so as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils, he hoped, he should always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable, the patron of every art and friend of every virtue,¹⁹ he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice—a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo, the Emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

Henry had summoned a new session of Parliament,²⁰ and obtained a supply for his enterprise. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two-fifteenths and four-tenths.²¹ By these supplies, joined to the treasure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprise by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were everywhere received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, Dean of Windsor, was despatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law, and instructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court

¹⁹ Father Paul, lib. 1.

²⁰ November 4, 1512.

²¹ Stowe.

of Scotland.²² Some complaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas.²³ Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the Earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of Lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. No withstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might easily have been accommodated had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation.²⁴ The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland was conceived to be the strongest band of connection; and the Scots universally believed that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, Queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence and prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardor of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France, the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed; and though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the Earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north, and

²² Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

²³ Stowe, p. 489. Hollingshed, p. 811.

²⁴ Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond in the Life of James IV.

so much the less as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis and all the adherents of the schismatical council; the Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France; the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion; and though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy, Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Thomas Wolsey, Dean of Lincoln and almoner to the king, surpassed in favor all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the Marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron.²⁵ He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII., and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct.²⁶ That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided in Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed him that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders, and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I met the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return. But as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I knew must be your majesty's intentions." The death of Henry,

²⁵ Stowe, p. 997.

²⁶ Cavendish. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*. Stowe.

soon after this ineident, retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him; but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rising man; and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation.²⁷ This prelate, observing that the Earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favor, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be content to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king that he supplanted both Surrey in his favor and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman were any restraint upon him or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gayety in which Henry, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced business, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him that, while he intrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage, indeed, of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favor, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority; that by the factions and cabals and jealousies which had long prevailed among them they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them; that, while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to intrust his authority into the hands of some one person who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his service; and that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could

²⁷ *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 309. *Polyd. Verg. lib.* 27.

more easily at intervals account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business, and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government.²⁸

Henry entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favorite from being the companion of his pleasures to be a member of his council, and from being a member of his council to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and by turns lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt—he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanness, of his *fortune*.

The branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it suited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper as well as the ardor of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army and equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Sir Edward Howard, who, after scouring the channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay, and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbor, and saw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighborhood. At last Prejeant arrived with six galleys, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest,

²⁸ Cavendish, p. 12. Stowe, p. 499.

where he secured himself behind some batteries which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and as he had but two galleys, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to Lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row barges and some crayers under the command of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes.²⁹ Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander that they retired from before Brest.³⁰ The French navy came out of harbor, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion of France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before everything was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprise. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war had rendered it still more difficult to inure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely

²⁹ It was a maxim of Howard's that no admiral was good for any thing that was not brave even to a degree of madness. As the sea service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth; though the fate of Howard himself may serve as a proof that even their courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

³⁰ Stowe, p. 491. Herbert. Hollingshead, p. 816.

discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces which Henry levied for the invasion of France consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to eight thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the Earl of Derby, the Lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Cobham, and Sir Rice ap-Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of six thousand men soon after followed under the command of Lord Herbert, the chamberlain, attended by the Earls of Northumberland and Kent, the Lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

The king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him that he never would be free from danger while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive; and as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably by that means drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

At last Henry, attended by the Duke of Buckingham and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory.³¹ Of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with eight thousand men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries

³¹ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27. Bellarius, lib. 14.

and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains; but while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert had formed the siege of Teroüane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigor. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding three thousand men; yet made they such stout resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fossé of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt.³²

But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The Duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt,

³² Hist. de Chev. Bayard, chap. 57. Mémoires de Bellai.

the Chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction were made prisoners.³³ This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought, but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

After so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris and spread confusion and desolation everywhere. It gave Lewis great joy when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a place as Teroüane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expense of some blood and, what in his present circumstances was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and without making inquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand, and thought himself happy, at the expense of some payments and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy.³⁴

³³ Mémoires de Bellai, liv. i. Polyd. Verg. liv. xxvii. Hollingshed, p. 822. Herbert.

³⁴ Mémoires du Mareschal de Fleuranges. Bellarius, lib. 14.

The measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negotiation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbor, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch, not considering that such an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy.³⁵ Their courage failed them when matters came to trial, and after a few days' siege the place was surrendered to the English. The Bishop of Tournay was lately dead; and as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favorite, Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable.³⁶ Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprise, and his youthful mind was much elated with this seeming prosperity; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages of his situation with his progress, his expense with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign, so much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him.³⁷

The success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the north was much more decisive. The King of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a brave though a tumultuary army of above fifty thousand men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the

³⁵ *Memoires du Fleuranges.*

³⁶ *Strype's Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

³⁷ *Guicciardini.*

prince that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline during that age extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp and retired homewards. Meanwhile the Earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, of which five thousand had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement; Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south, and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valor on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twisel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

An engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order.³⁸ The English divided their army into two lines: Lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the Earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, Lord Dacres the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himself; the right by the Earl of Huntley, assisted by Lord Hume; the left by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division, under the Earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle, and, after a sharp conflict, put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field;

³⁸ Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond. Herbert. Polyd. Verg. lib. 27. Stowe, p. 493. Paulus Jovius.

but on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only Sir Edmund Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valor, but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James and that under Bothwell, animated by the valor of their leaders, still made head against the English, and, throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men; but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could nowhere be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body, which resembled him and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied, because James died under sentence of excommunication on account of his confederacy with France and his opposition to the holy see;³⁹ but upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinstone, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's in order to divide the attention of the English and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of Lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime; but the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

The King of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being

³⁹ Buchanan, lib. 13. Herbert.

slain in the field of Flouden, so this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. [1514.] But he discovered, on this occasion, a mind truly great and generous. When the Queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it, and took compassion on the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The Earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honored with the title of Earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favorite, whom he had before created Viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of Duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, who was both his favorite and his minister, was created Bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of Earl of Worcester; Sir Edward Stanley that of Lord Monteagle.

Though peace with Scotland gave Henry security on that side, and enabled him to prosecute in tranquillity his enterprise against France, some other incidents had happened which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

Lewis, fully sensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was resolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interest rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons, and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year, and he even showed an inclination of forming a more intimate connection with that monarch. Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry his second daughter, Renée, either to Charles, Prince of

Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with joy, but also engaged the emperor, Maximilian, in the same views, and procured his accession to a treaty which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandizing their common grandchildren.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained that his father-in-law had first, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the least warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the danger and expense of the war. In proportion to his easy credulity and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith.⁴⁰ But he lost all patience when informed of the other negotiation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to for the marriage of the Prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honorable settlement of a sister for whom he entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The Duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, Queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honorably all the differences between them; that she had left Lewis no male

⁴⁰ Petrus de Angleria, e. 1st. 515, 543.

children ; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular ; that though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality ; and that Henry, in loosening his connections with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honor.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability, which he discovered, of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion ; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English ; that Richard de la Pöle should be banished to Mentz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis ; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself ; and that the Princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succors with which they should mutually supply each other in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.⁴¹

In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess ; and being naturally of an amorous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of gayety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health.⁴² [1515.] He died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honorable appellation of *father of his people*.

Francis, Duke of Angoulême, a youth of one-and-twenty, who had married Lewis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on

⁴¹ Du Tillet.

⁴² Brantome, Eloge de Louis XII.

the throne, and by his activity, valor, generosity, and other virtues, gave prognostics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely struck with the charms of the English princess, and even during his predecessor's lifetime had paid her such assiduous court as made some of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But being warned that, by indulging this passion, he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore all farther addresses, and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye during the first months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was at that time, in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favorite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her; and she told him that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer, and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister,⁴³ interposed his good offices in appeasing him; and even Wolsey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleasures and had no ambition to engage in public business, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

⁴³ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 544.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION.—SCOTCH AFFAIRS.—PROGRESS OF FRANCIS I.—JEALOUSY OF HENRY.—TOURNAY DELIVERED TO FRANCE.—WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE.—HIS MANNER OF EXERCISING THAT OFFICE.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.—CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN, CHOSEN EMPEROR.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN HENRY AND FRANCIS NEAR CALAIS.—THE EMPEROR CHARLES ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—MEDIATION OF HENRY.—TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

THE numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence, who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquisitions and his splendid ostentatious train of life should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Alban's and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next

that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues. The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests and creating him a cardinal. No churchman, under color of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen; some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education, and, in order to gain them favor with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and, both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition.¹ Not content with his munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendor of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses.² He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank, and when he came to the king's chapel would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross, but not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury, contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees.³ The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation, and said they were now sensible that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office

¹ Erasm. Epist. lib. 2, epist. 1; lib. 16, epist. 3.

² Polyd. Verg. lib. 27. Stowe, page 501. Hollingshed, p. 847.

³ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.⁴

The Duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expense still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer and retire from court. His rival, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence, but, partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The Duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favor of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master." Henry replied, "that he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was so well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means⁵ so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister; they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises however fruitless and unnecessary.

The will of the late King of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried;⁶ but notwithstanding this limitation, a few

⁴ Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 594.

⁵ Erasm. lib. 2, epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall.

⁶ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

months after her husband's death she espoused the Earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England; but the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to this measure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the Duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III., who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such was the favor attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the King of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over and take possession of the regency; he even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied such a close connection as might be thought somewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful

to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly feuds (so they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

The persons to whom Albany on his arrival first applied for information with regard to the state of the country happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume;⁷ and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender, and, by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had in a great measure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favorable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen-dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently intrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned to his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the Earl of Arran, his brother-in-law, and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the con-

⁷ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

spiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing, and Hume was so imprudent as to intrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned, and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers; it was only alleged that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced against them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly fatal both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France, and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent such confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled both from offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the present period, that, as that country had little connection with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreseen that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valor. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France, pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This

formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian, Duke of Milan, under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependence, they were determined, from views both of honor and of interest, to defend him against the invader.⁸ They fortified themselves in all those valleys of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages; and it required all the heroic valor of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardor; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strewed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the Mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes.⁹ After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the Duke of Albany into Scotland and undermining the power and credit of his sister, the queen-dowager.^{9*} The repairing of the fortifications of Teroënnne was likewise regarded as a breach

⁸ Mémoires de Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

⁹ Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

⁹ * Père Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

of treaty. But, above all, what tended to alienate the court of England was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop-elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the Bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch.¹⁰

Maximilian, the emperor, was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to Cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was despatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian;¹¹ he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found that, after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humor, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis without diminishing the power of that prince.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France. He could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdi-

¹⁰ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

¹¹ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

nand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, Prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy.¹² Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time, and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavor to allure him into some expense by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favor. The artifice was too gross to succeed even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

[1516.] While a universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had been so long looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected—the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was despatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. [1518.] After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honorable advances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth observed to express himself on all occasions in favor of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests,

¹² Guicciardini, lib. 12.

Francis entered into such confidence with him that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs, and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the king of this private correspondence ; and Henry was so prepossessed in favor of the great capacity of his minister that he said he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself.¹³

When matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay ; and Wolsey immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council that Tournay lay so remote from Calais that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places ; that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant ; that even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government ; and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay ; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the Princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expense in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article ;¹⁴ and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis

¹³ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

¹⁴ Mémoires de Bellai, lib. 1.

promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The French monarch, having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favorite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him, in each letter, *father, tutor, governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Vergil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey on account of his being dispossessed of his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favorable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: he was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burden to the kingdom;¹⁵ but when he found that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connections with the King of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

The pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England in order to procure a tithe from the clergy for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks—a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands; Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelve-month. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so

¹⁵ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

much addicted. On solemn feast-days he was not content with saying mass after the manner of the pope himself; not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter: "Know ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?"

But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office which he called the legatine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favor, invested with all power both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial power even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted when they saw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life,¹⁶ whom he himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury; and as it is pretended that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little

¹⁶ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks or of patronage in the nobility and gentry.¹⁷

No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind anywhere as in his own house; but do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual; it only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham; but one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamor at last reached the king's ears, and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad which excited his attention. [1519.] Maximilian the emperor died, a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe. The Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistress: "the more fortunate," added he, "will

¹⁷ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited. There are many circumstances, however, very suspicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian and because the Parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

carry her ; the other must rest contented.”¹⁸ But all men apprehended that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration, and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favor ; and as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities ; brave, aspiring, active, warlike, beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world. Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs ; Charles, political, close, artful, frugal, better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man, the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes, but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honor ; the emperor, by his designing, interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valor, never reared up of a sudden so great a power as that which centred in the Emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands ; he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada ; election entitled him to the empire ; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the con-

¹⁸ Belcarai, lib. 19. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

currence of all these advantages formed an empire greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of these mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favorite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage or to that of his kingdom.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavored to accommodate his conduct to it. [1520.] He solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendor, and his influence over both monarchs.¹⁹ And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expense; many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendor of a few days. The Duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure²⁰—an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he

¹⁹ Polyd. Verg. lib. 27.

²⁰ Ibid. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 855.

heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardor as if fortune had never yet favored him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises because Leo was a very young man, and it was not likely that for many years he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister: but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity, and believed that, as his favor was Wolsey's sole support, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court, and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance in order to do honor to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold*.

The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most
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cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I, Henry, King*—these were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words of *England*, without adding *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs.²¹ Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity, soon after, of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honor himself and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: the number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both sides; every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted; and if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonorable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them: "You are all my prisoners; carry me to your master." Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have showed me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth fifteen thousand angels,²² and, putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar.²³ The king went next day to Ardres without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

²¹ Mémoires de Fleuranges.

²² An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

²³ Mémoires de Fleuranges.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigor and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas which had been framed in London, and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæreo præest* (He prevails whom I favor);²⁴ expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time till their departure.

Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favorite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required that some support should be given to the latter, and, above all, that any important wars should be prevented which might bestow on either of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations; and Charles, sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur) that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the masterpiece

²⁴ Mezeray.

of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests by very important services and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Palencia, in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now become so exorbitant that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations.²⁵

The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. [1521.] But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom; and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey soon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect as if he had been the King of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the Princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inherit-

²⁵ Polyd. Verg. Hall.

ing the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence, of the kingdom, was the result of the humors and prejudices of the king and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

The people saw, every day, new instances of the uncontrolled authority of this minister. The Duke of Buckingham, Constable of England, the first nobleman, both for family and fortune, in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion. He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and, being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting, one day, the throne of England. He was descended, by a female, from the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions as if he thought himself best entitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ in case a favorable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the Duke of Norfolk, whose son, the Earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust;²⁶ but as Buckingham's crimes seemed to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign, and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

²⁶ Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.—
ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION.—MARTIN LUTHER.—
HENRY RECEIVES THE TITLE OF DEFENDER OF THE
FAITH.—CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMA-
TION.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—
WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—A PARLIAMENT.—INVASION OF
FRANCE.—ITALIAN WARS.—THE KING OF FRANCE IN-
VADES ITALY.—BATTLE OF PAVIA AND CAPTIVITY OF
FRANCIS.—FRANCIS RECOVERS HIS LIBERTY.—SACK OF
ROME.—LEAGUE WITH FRANCE.

DURING some years many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the Reformation, one of the greatest events in history; but as it was not till this time that the King of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes, or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and, in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artisans, finding their profits to rise by the favor of their customers, increase, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is

always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also some callings which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence, and it must provide against that negligence to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honors to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependence, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy are instances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at first sight, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be intrusted to the liberality of individuals who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in their profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because, in every religion except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other sects, and continually endeavor, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And, in the end, the civil magistrate will find that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that, in reality, the most decent

and advantageous composition which he can make with the spiritual guides is to bribe their indolence by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

But we may observe that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the Church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the Church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve a unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risk of being extinguished, and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place everywhere.

To increase these evils, the Church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising further on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus that church, though an expensive and burdensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for obtaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniences. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had served as a check on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western

churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connection with each other; and the pomp and splendor of worship which belonged to so opulent an establishment contributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the Reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X., by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him as an expedient which had often served in former times to draw money from the Christian world and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints beyond what were employed in their own justification, and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded; and from this unexhausted treasury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money to be employed in pious purposes, in resisting the infidels, or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes.¹

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote; it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence;² and as his expenses had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The

¹ Father Paul and Sleidan.

² In 1517.

produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibò, natural son of Innocent VIII.; and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to³ preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; but Arcemboldi, fearing lest practice might have taught them means to secrete the money,⁴ and expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics, and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people.⁵ To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming-houses, and places still more infamous, the money which devout persons had saved from their usual expenses in order to purchase a remission of their sins.⁶

All these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves, and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him.⁷ Still, as he enlarged his reading in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference, and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and

³ Father Paul. Sleidan.

⁵ See note [S] at the end of the volume.

⁷ Father Paul. Sleidan.

⁴ Father Paul, lib. 1.

⁶ Father Paul, lib. 1.

men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The Elector of Saxony, favorable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction; the republic of Zurich even reformed their Church according to the new model; many sovereigns of the empire, and the imperial diet itself, showed a favorable disposition towards it; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others—the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

The rumor of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the Church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favorite author; he opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him; he even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther—a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard, and conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry, and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which, in the course of his polemics, he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill-usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favor the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute.⁸ And as the controversy became more illus-

⁸ Father Paul, lib. 1.

trious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind ; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

The quick and surprising progress of this bold sect may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing and revival of learning. Not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church ; for of all branches of literature, philosophy had as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress : neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has everywhere overwhelmed them ; not to mention that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, proved sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries ; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe ; but as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter ; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defects in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniences of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable ; foretold by

sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope Antichrist, called his communion the Scarlet Whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon—expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, inward vision, rapture and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavored to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favorable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity or disgusted with the license in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy, and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature, they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy, and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

Leo X., whose oversights and too supine trust in the

profound ignorance of the people had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment, moderation, and temper were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the Emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candor, and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but, so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this sincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff, also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France;⁹ and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arm subservient to political purposes.

[1522.] The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; and, besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, Admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence.¹⁰

The king declared war against France; and this measure

⁹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

¹⁰ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.

was founded on so little reason that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg, in Normandy; and, after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries under the command of the Count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thousand men.

The French had made it a maxim, in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V., never, without great necessity, to hazard a general engagement; and the Duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Ter-ouënné, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions; he himself took post at Abbeville with some Swiss and French infantry and a body of cavalry; the Count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion, to throw supply into any town that was threatened, and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprise. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army; the French forces assaulted him from without; great rains fell; fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries; and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege and put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Pas, in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca, near

Milan, and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money,¹¹ was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part and not diffuse itself throughout the whole; but of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline.¹² He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale, and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connections with Scotland were feeble in comparison with those which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighboring nation so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with Lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the Earl of Angus, husband to the queen-dowager.

[1523.] Next year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: the two Humes had been put to death; Angus was in a manner banished; no nobleman of vigor or authority remained who was qualified to assume the government; and the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity in

¹¹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

¹² Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Pitscottie.

hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England.¹³ He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the Lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch—an expedient which would forever unite the two kingdoms;¹⁴ and the queen-dowager, with her whole party, recommended everywhere the advantages of this alliance and of a confederacy with Henry. They said that the interests of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them as soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England; that where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment as a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of kingdoms which, in the present case, rendered it inevitable; that France was so distant, and so divided from them by sea, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succors to the Scots sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighboring kingdom; that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations, having inclosed them in the same island, given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government, and prepared everything for an intimate union between them; and that if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain forever safe and unmolested.

The partisans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said that the very reasons which were urged in favor of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation; that among neighboring states occasions of quarrel were frequent, and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker and reducing it to subjection; that as the near neighborhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league

¹³ Buchanan, lib. 24. Herbert.

¹⁴ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter; that if they deserted that old and salutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force and bereave them of all their liberties; or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable.¹⁵

The arguments employed by the French party being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent; and when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states, he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign, and he led them southwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melrose, the English party raised again such opposition that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping the river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk-castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it and stormed some of the outworks; but the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expense still remained, and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprises. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom: the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue;¹⁶ and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so

¹⁵ Buchanan, lib. 14.

¹⁶ Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums; this act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England, and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people, and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of Parliament.

Henry soon after summoned a Parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the Parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the House of Commons, and, in a long and elaborate speech, laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor: and he demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments—a sum computed, from the late survey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the division proposed.¹⁷ So large a grant was unusual from the Commons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the House could not be prevailed with to comply.¹⁸ They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty

¹⁷ This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion as fixing the rents a great deal too high, unless the sum comprehended the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

¹⁸ Herbert. Stowe, p. 518. Parliamentary History. Strype, vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

pounds and forty shillings a year ; and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a head. This last sum was divided into two yearly payments ; the former into four, and was not, therefore, at the utmost, above sixpence in the pound. The grant of the Commons was but the moiety of the sum demanded ; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the House, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the House never to reason but among themselves ; and his desire was rejected. The Commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a year and upwards.¹⁹ The proceedings of this House of Commons evidently discover the humor of the times : they were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown which was far from being unreasonable ; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the Commons that, as he had not called a Parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another ; and, on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the Parliament had granted him payable in four years²⁰—a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope, Adrian VI., died ; and Clement VII., of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for a union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his disgust ; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers

¹⁹ See note [T] at the end of the volume.

²⁰ Speed. Hall. Herbert.

which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life, and, by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity; he sought all over Europe for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges; and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humor of the reformers.

The confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever, on the opening of the campaign.²¹ Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the same measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy; but all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

Charles, Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive,

²¹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

malicious ; but unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation, Francis put many affronts on the constable which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure, and at last he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawsuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions, and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebellion against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the King of England.²² Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy ; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design ; but as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape,²³ and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit and his great talents for war to the prejudice of his native country.

The King of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion ; and it was late before the Duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen.²⁴ The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about twelve thousand men ; and, having joined an equal number of Flemings under the Count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed ; but, that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops ; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedi-

²² Mémoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

²⁴ Herbert.

²³ Belcarius, lib. 17.

tion, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigor and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation, till the Duke of Vendôme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned; and the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the Count of Furstenberg. The Count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison-towns, and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigor and courage that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side had he not turned back upon Fontara-

bia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down, in the winter season, before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops into winter quarters.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and fearing some insurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of Admiral Bonnivet. The duchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance. But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not inactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine than reduce the city to that extremity. [1524.] Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and instead of joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march,

and to return home in their company.²⁵ After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged and whose defence he had embraced.²⁶ They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to subjection; Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor that he sent orders to his nuncio, at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the Duke of Bourbon with a powerful army in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny; Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month, after which he might either choose to continue the same monthly payments or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king, but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles; the rest of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the Marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time; but the citizens defended themselves with such valor and obstinacy that Bour-

²⁵ Guicciardini, lib. 15. Mémoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

²⁶ Guicciardini, lib. 15.

bon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom; but as he received intelligence that the King of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardor seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

He passed the Alps at Mont Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place and had been totally dispersed²⁷ but his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new intrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches; he attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time and with infinite labor, had been erecting. Fatigue and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter) had wasted the French army. [1525.] The imperial generals, meanwhile, were not inactive. Pescara and Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the imperialists. This whole army advanced to the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that partly from want of commerce and industry everywhere except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the exten-

²⁷ Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, liv. 2.

sive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France either on the side of Spain or Flanders). Yet so poor was that mighty monarch that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded, and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

The imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to the rout: and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valor and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honor. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed.²⁸ He re-

²⁸ Vera Hist. de Carl. V.

fused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph, and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound; and he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words: "Madam, all is lost except our honor." The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies; and her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes she entertained of peace, and even of assistance from the King of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy concurred with his polit-

ical interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some disgusts, also, had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favorable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behavior of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles."²⁹ Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interest than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be everywhere made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London;³⁰ but, upon the Regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigor and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he despatched Tonsal, Bishop of London, to Madrid with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands, and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

²⁹ Guicciardini, lib. 16.

³⁰ Du Bellay, liv. 3. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

Tonstal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and in particular was displeased with Henry because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tonstal added that, instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, Princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore his alliance with the Regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions;³¹ the regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns; after which Henry was to receive during life a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

Meanwhile Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the Parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and fourpence upon the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short

³¹ Du Tillet, *Recueil des Traités de Leonard*, vol. ii. Herbert.

in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties declaring that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of *benevolence*.

He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself obnoxious to royal authority by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city objecting the statute of Richard III. by which benevolences were forever abolished, it was replied by the court that, Richard being a usurper and his Parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and *absolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favor of a licentious populace.³² The judges even went so far as to affirm positively that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the Mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council; but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went on not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber, where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That notwithstanding their grievous offence,

³² Herbert. Hall.

the king, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them his gracious pardon upon condition that they would find sureties for their future good behavior." But they replying they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the Duke of Norfolk, said that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed.³³

These arbitrary impositions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he labored; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was empowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities: and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favorite.

Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king rendered his domestic government both over his people and his ministers easy and expeditious; the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application, and they were now brought to such a situation that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must forever have annihilated the power of France and destroyed the balance

³³ Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingshed, p. 891.

of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

[Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favorable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favor, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness, which begat apprehensions in Charles lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him: "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the Emperor, "I come to visit my brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect that the king daily recovered,³⁴ and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

[1526.] At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigor; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the

execution of this last article from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated that in six weeks' time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependence.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom; by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigor with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen that the emulation and rivalry which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shown himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure, with one voice, to inculcate on him that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honor, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of insuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which, either as a prince or a man, he was strongly actuated.

Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and, immediately putting him

to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times: "I am yet a king." He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal under color that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and, declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing even by force of arms the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor.³⁵

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. France remained not in suspense, but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money, and to restore Milan to Sforza without farther condition or incumbrance. The King of England was invited to accede not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, so it was called; and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of thirty thousand ducats;

³⁵ Guicciardini, lib. 17.

and that Cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of ten thousand ducats.

[1527.] Francis was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigor of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. The Duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valor, and, entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed.³⁶ Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his es-

³⁶ Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

cape in time, was taken captive, and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the Germans, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms; he put himself and all his court in mourning; he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty³⁷ at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred men-at-arms, two-thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And, in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis or his son, the Duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the Princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigor for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne;

³⁷ April 30.

Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town the more to honor his reception. It was here stipulated that the Duke of Orleans should espouse the Princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legatine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises.³³

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some time after, concluded at London, in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France—claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay forever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the Parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The Mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed, indeed, from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previous to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa and all the fortresses held by him in Italy; and he declared his inten-

³³ Burnet, book 3, coll. 12, 13.

tion of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonorably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealously disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation everywhere lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and sincere should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to so cruel a situation that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival inferior to him both in honor and in virtue.

But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honor, to take revenge on their enemies by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd though generous maxims shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAPTER XXX.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—THE KING ENTERS INTO THESE SCRUPLES.—ANNE BOLEYN.—HENRY APPLIES TO THE POPE FOR A DIVORCE.—THE POPE FAVORABLE.—THE EMPEROR THREATENS HIM.—THE POPE'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT.—THE CAUSE EVOKED TO ROME.—WOLSEY'S FALL.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—WOLSEY'S DEATH.—A PARLIAMENT.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—A PARLIAMENT.—KING'S FINAL BREACH WITH ROME.—A PARLIAMENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the Reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract.¹ He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage;² and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the Emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter, and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the

¹ Morison's *Apomaxis*, p. 13.

² Morison, p. 13. Heylin's *Queen Mary*, p. 2.

young princess.³ And when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the Duke of Orleans, the Bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection.⁴ But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes which tended much to increase his remorse and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession, too, of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the King of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions arising from a disputed title made great impression on the minds of men, and rendered the people universally desirous of any event which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private passions and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on consulting his confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages.⁵ The prohibitions, said

³ Herbert. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*.

⁴ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 192, 203. Heylin, p. 3.

⁵ Burnet. Fiddes.

Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them. The Archbishop of Canterbury was then applied to, and he was required to consult his brethren: all the prelates of England except Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful.⁶ Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples:⁷ partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis by marrying him to the Duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbefitting his character and station.⁸ But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favorite.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honor to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the Duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the Earl of Ormond; his grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of Lord Hastings.⁹ Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude, Queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after the death of that princess she passed into the family of the Duchess of Alençon, a woman of singular merit. The exact time when she

⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.

⁷ Legrand, vol. iii. pp. 46, 166, 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

⁹ Camden's Preface to the Life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

returned to England is not certainly known ; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, if the account is to be credited which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen ; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne, and was the more confirmed in this resolution when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

That he might not shock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he resolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity, but only to insist on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome that if the pope be surprised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled ; and this pretence had usually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind, and any tribunal favorable to Henry needed not want a specious color for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation, though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age ; it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite in order to preserve peace between the two crowns, though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage.¹⁰

¹⁰ Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitell. p. 9.

But though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favorable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master.¹¹ Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with Sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the king, but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a *commission* to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage and of Julius's¹² dispensation. He also granted them a provisional *dispensation* for the king's marriage with any other person, and promised to issue a *decretal bull* annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue to him if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any farther use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition by proceeding immediately to a conclusion by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult,

¹¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

¹² Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 237.

he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed as previously to render them valid by his consent and authority.¹³

When Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. [1528.] The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children which it might bring him declared illegitimate, and his marriage with Catherine more firmly riveted than ever.¹⁴ And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed.¹⁵ The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone by entering into a league against Charles had so affected his imagination that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigor in any public measure, especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council, which he represented as necessary to reform the church and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in ques-

¹³ Collier, from Cott. Lib. ViteI. B. 10.

¹⁵ Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

¹⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 51.

tion. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X., his kinsman, had declared him legitimate upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority.¹⁶ The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but, what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law by declaring that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But, unfortunately, Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a billet containing promises of advancing that cardinal in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence; and this billet Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view.¹⁷

While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and, revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice against the emperor; and Clement found that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family, the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect his purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch.¹⁸

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honor and interests of Catherine, his aunt, and the obvious motive of

¹⁶ Father Paul, lib. 1.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behavior always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were despatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recall the commission or evoke the cause to Rome.¹⁹

But the same reasons which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it; he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which Cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter promising not to recall the present commission, this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it.²⁰

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was so much greater that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that his counsel gave offence, he said that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composure of all differences.²¹

¹⁹ Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29, in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93, with App. No. 23, 24, &c.

²⁰ Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.

²¹ Herbert, p. 225.

The more to pacify the king, he showed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret.²² In order to atone in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and, in particular, he showed that their request for suppressing some more monasteries and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees had obtained the consent of his holiness.²³

[1529.] These ambiguous circumstances in the behavior of the pope and the legate kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain counsels. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter; ²⁴ and it appears that, if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favorable issue to his process; he still continued his secret negotiations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays, and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly

²² Burnet, p. 58.

²³ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. pp. 110, 111. Append No. 28.

²⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper, and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation; the illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern; the reluctance of yielding to a rival who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recall of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article.²⁵

The two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves, and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without counsel, without assistance, exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: that she had quitted her native country without other resource than her connections with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safeguard against every misfortune; that she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity; that she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honor was yet unstained when he received her into his bed, and that her connections with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage; that their parents, the Kings of England and Spain, were

²⁵ Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice when they formed the agreement for that marriage which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural; and that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependence on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision.²⁶ Having spoken these words, she rose, and, making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behavior had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honor. He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted Cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a sentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her *contumacious*, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome, and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of Prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose—all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favor of the king's assertion.²⁷ Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of Prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy; the Spanish ambassador, in order the better to insure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage; ²⁸ Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princess; in the very treaty fixing Henry's marriage the consummation of the former marriage with Prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides.²⁹ These par-

²⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

²⁷ Herbert.

²⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.

²⁹ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

ticulars were all laid before the court, accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court, because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candor and impartiality than if the king's own minister and favorite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favor, when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences,³⁰ prorogued the court till the 1st of October. The evocation which came a few days after from Rome put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.³¹

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause, and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor.³² The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he ad-

³⁰ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 76, 77.

³² Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

³¹ Herbert, p. 254.

journed the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had beforehand received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull with which he was intrusted.

Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure fore-runner of his ruin. Though he had at first desired that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue;³³ he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardor and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or distinction, to make his ministers answerable for the success of those transactions with which they were intrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed from a regard to decency: during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal.³⁴ Even the queen and her partisans, judging of Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity tended to hasten his downfall; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings not to ill fortune or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favorite, seems to have remained some time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

But constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal

³³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53.

³⁴ Cavendish, p. 40.

from him; and on his scrupling to deliver it³⁵ without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: their riches and splendor befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of silver; he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; there were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country-seat which he possessed near Hampton Court. The world, that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change, and from the same turn of mind which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigor.³⁶ The smallest appearance of his return to favor threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing, during some time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received in that humble attitude these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him.³⁷

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavors, in conjunction with her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his

³⁵ Cavendish, p. 41.

³⁷ Stowe, p. 547.

³⁶ Strype, vol. i. pp. 114, 115. App. No. 31, &c.

former authority. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides.³⁸ The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favorite. He ordered him to be indicted in the star-chamber, where a sentence was passed against him. And, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigor of the Parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The House of Lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles, and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the Upper House; no evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any.³⁹ The articles were sent down to the House of Commons, where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage as acquired him great honor, and laid the foundation of that favor which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him that, contrary to a statute of Richard II., commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legatine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but, besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king and the acquiescence of the Parliament and kingdom; not to mention what he always asserted,⁴⁰ and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal license in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any

³⁸ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.

³⁹ See note [U] at the end of the volume.

⁴⁰ Cavendish, p. 72.

opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued, from time to time, to drop expressions of favor and compassion towards him.

The complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular everywhere, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The Commons, finding the occasion favorable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy: one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills;⁴¹ a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order were the severe invectives thrown out almost without opposition in the House against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert⁴² has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Gray's Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute; and upon the whole he infers that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the Author of nature, and the necessity of good morals in order to obtain his favor and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But though the first

⁴¹ These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the House that a thousand marks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. i. p. 73.

⁴² P. 293.

broaching of a religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition, the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the House of Lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the Commons to their want of faith, and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the Bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The Commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favorable construction on his words.⁴³

Henry was not displeased that the Court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his Parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The Commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: they granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them.⁴⁴ Several, also, approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordina-

⁴³ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82. ⁴⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

tion to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and, except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near six hundred thousand crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: they were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and seemed to have no means of security left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated: they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan; and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already, by his vigor and capacity, succeeded in every enterprise and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto labored, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and, though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary domin-

ions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family by extending his dominion over all Germany.

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles in order to insure success in his ambitious enterprises; and the king was sufficiently apprised that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce, that point which had been long the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependence to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connections with the court of Rome, and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home; he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order; he knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts and employ every insinuation in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the Duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But, notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire

a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations; he dreaded the reproach of heresy; he abhorred all connections with Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power; and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College, in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candor and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way either to quiet Henry's conscience or extort the pope's consent would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom.⁴⁵ When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect that if a commerce of love were authorized between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during

⁴⁵ Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

early youth, would introduce a universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a stepmother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons as against those from any stranger or more distant relation; hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father—a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorized between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle, it would appear that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a brother's widow, especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigor of the rule which has place among individuals.⁴⁶

But, in opposition to these reasons and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side, the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward,⁴⁷ gave verdict in the king's favor; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges,

⁴⁶ See note [X] at the end of the volume.

⁴⁷ Herbert. Burnet.

Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry, but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone⁴⁸ and Cambridge⁴⁹ made some difficulty, because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. [1530]. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice.⁵⁰ The convocations, too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense.⁵¹ But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created Earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose.⁵²

The extremities to which Henry was pushed both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order were naturally disagreeable to Cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favorite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry in return for Hampton Court; but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: he took

⁴⁸ Wood, *Hist. and Ant. Ox. lib.* 1, p. 225.

⁴⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. xiv. pp. 454, 472.

⁵⁰ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95.

⁵² Burnet, vol. i. p. 94.

up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighborhood by his affability and hospitality; ⁵³ but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The Earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able with some difficulty to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you have me highly recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him.

"He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one-half of his kingdom.

"I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head; for you can never put it out again." ⁵⁴

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favorite's measures have undergone; and when we

⁵³ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

⁵⁴ Cavendish.

consider that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality who have endeavored to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than his master's service, which he boasted he had solely at heart, we must remember that he had in view the papal throne—a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favors. The Cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in some respects, similar to Wolsey's: and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death when informed of it, and always spoke favorably of his memory—a proof that humor more than reason or any discovery of treachery had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

[1531.] A new session of Parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey and render his exercise of the legatine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission, the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legatine court—that is, the whole Church—had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them.⁵⁵ The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent and supported by his authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds for a pardon.⁵⁶ A confession was likewise extorted from them that “the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England;” though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause in

⁵⁵ *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 325. *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 106. ⁵⁶ *Hollingshed*, p. 923.

sented which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ."

The Commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legatine court, or a supply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the Commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency.⁵⁷

[1532.] By this strict execution of the statute of provisors a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off, and the connections between the pope and the English clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session found both king and Parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annats, or first-fruits,⁵⁸ being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant—a tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim, which the Parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure; and it was voted that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law should be entirely disregarded, and that mass should be said and the sacraments administered as if no such censures had been issued.

This session the Commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session before the Parliament had finished all their

⁵⁷ Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.

⁵⁸ Burnet, vol. i. Collect. No. 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements or trust-deeds of their lands by will that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not to remedy altogether, this abuse; he was contented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the Parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them so much again." The Lords came willingly into his terms, but the Commons rejected the bill—a singular instance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The Commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided that a man could not, by law, bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of heirs.⁵⁹

The Parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns,⁶⁰ the Parliament showed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move that the House should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley, the speaker, and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened—scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervors of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself

⁵⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. ' Hall. Parl. Hist.

⁶⁰ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow.⁶¹

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and Parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue and the sanctity of his manners had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gayety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high station nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses, and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England, the kingdom which, of all others, had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings: that a great monarch, who had signalized himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favor which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court; he only despatched Sir Edward

⁶¹ Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the Bishop of Rome and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created Marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The Duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony.⁶² Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

[1533.] The Parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connections with the see of Rome and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts—appeals esteemed dishonorable to the kingdom by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction, and found to be very vexatious by the expense and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them.⁶³ The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his marriage with

⁶² Herbert, pp. 340, 341.

⁶³ 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

Catherine—a sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne.⁶⁴

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorse on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavored, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her, and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amptill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created Archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Warham,⁶⁵ was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighborhood of the place was chosen in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*, and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgments pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony.⁶⁶ To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child that soon after he conferred on her the title of Princess of Wales⁶⁷—a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent, heir to the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honor his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the suc-

⁶⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 31, and Records, No. 8.

⁶⁵ See note [Y] at the end of the volume.

⁶⁶ Heylin, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

cession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who, by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence, had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as Princess-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions.⁶⁸

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood.⁶⁹ An event had happened from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena;⁷⁰ and having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the Duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance by which his family was so much honored. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marseilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there

⁶⁸ Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.

⁷⁰ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.

⁶⁹ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.

employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his now ally and the King of England.

Had this connection of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependence, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risk of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favor of the Catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown; and he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

[1534.] Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray and form the process, and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, Bishop of Paris, was next despatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should

be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion.⁷¹ But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who had carried the king's written promise was detained beyond the day appointed; news was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals.⁷² The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with anger, and by a precipitate sentence the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found that, though he heartily repented of his hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it or place affairs on the same footing as before.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the lifetime of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a Parliament and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's-cross in order to inculcate the doctrine that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese.⁷³ The proceedings of the Parliament showed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favorable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the suc-

⁷¹ Father Paul, lib. 1.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

cession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

All payments made to the apostolic chamber, all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished; monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; the law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone without presentment by two lawful witnesses, and it was declared that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy; bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'élire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters-patent, and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions; Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed;⁷⁴ the law which had been formerly made against paying annats, or first-fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established; and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of Parliament.⁷⁵ In this submission the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative.⁷⁶ An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

But the most important law passed this session was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified; and the marriage with Queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and, failing them, to the king's heirs forever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favor of this order of succession, under the penalty of

⁷⁴ Le Neve's *Fasti Eccles. Angl.*

⁷⁶ Collier, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

⁷⁵ 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19.

imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels; and all slander against the king, queen, or their issue was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances the Parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against Queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions when he began the process of divorce and of dispensation for a second marriage.

The king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom; and they voted that the Bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop, and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the Lower House, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the Upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure.⁷⁷

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the Parliament had full power to settle it; he offered to draw an oath himself which would insure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law, because

⁷⁷ Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii.

the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal.⁷⁸ He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The Parliament, being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme *head* on earth of the church of England, as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the Parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction."⁷⁹ They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavor depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annats and tithes of benefices which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth; they attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason; and they completed the union of England and Wales by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority, but, meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government by uniting the

⁷⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 156.

⁷⁹ 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits which never could be exactly determined between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits and prevent its abuses. And, on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences, though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The Earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland under the Duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who, hearing that his father was thrown into prison and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'Neale, O'Carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the Marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The Earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in

Scotland; and having gotten possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance; for, having separated herself from him on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then the Earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The King of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands, and employed himself with great spirit and valor in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favorably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary: his sister, the dowager of Hungary; his niece, a daughter of Portugal; or his cousin, the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms and shaking off the yoke

At Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with any enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE—OF THE KING—OF THE MINISTERS.—FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—SIR THOMAS MORE.—THE MAID OF KENT.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER—OF SIR THOMAS MORE.—KING EXCOMMUNICATED.—DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE.—SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.—A PARLIAMENT.—A CONVOCATION.—TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—DISGRACE OF QUEEN ANNE.—HER TRIAL—AND EXECUTION.—A PARLIAMENT.—A CONVOCATION.—DISCONTENTS AMONG THE PEOPLE.—INSURRECTION.—BIRTH OF PRINCE EDWARD AND DEATH OF QUEEN JANE.—SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES.—CARDINAL POLE.

THE ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breasts, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during some time at a loss how to choose their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents which have

ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated even in the most opposite directions; hence their seeming prostitution in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles; and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in an habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers than the offer which they made of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics—these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists

in Germany,¹ furnished a new pretence for decrying the Reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because Protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the Reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers;² and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favor and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by his imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther, also, had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honor never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the Catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen,

¹ Sleidan, lib. 4 and 5.

² See note [4] at the end of the volume.

engaged by interest as well as inclination, favored the cause of the reformers ; Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views ; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations ; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the Protestant tenets ; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candor and sincerity—virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the Duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith ; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council ; Gardiner, lately created Bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party ; and the suppleness of his character and dexterity of his conduct had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets ; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff ; but they encouraged his passion for the Catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party. The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by Protestants and Catholics, to assume an unbounded authority ; and though in all his measures he was driven by his ungoverned humor, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained ; but while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the domin-

ion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the Protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp,³ where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, relics, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans and other Protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition⁴ was a reliance on *good works*, by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts everywhere; but it was a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonstal, then Bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to

³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

⁴ *Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per solam fidem. Luther adversus Regem. Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. Id. de Captivitate Babylonica.*

discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp, and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God.⁵

The disciples of the Reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their tyranny; it was even an article of impeachment against him⁶ that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had, in his early years, advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favoring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and, having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostasy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield.⁷

Many were brought into the bishop's courts for offences

⁵ Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

⁶ Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

⁷ Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party : some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English ; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbor the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration, but was so haunted by remorse that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved ; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic ; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment ; and some mendicant friars who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them^s of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied ; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy ; and he tenderly embraced the fagots which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the Protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their

own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him that the dogs would lick his blood as they had done Ahab's."⁹ The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him, who justified the king's proceedings; and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown, but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar, but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence.¹⁰ He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the Earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames, Elston replied that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.¹¹

But several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and, having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighborhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank

⁹ Strype, vol. i. p. 167.

¹¹ Stowe, p. 562.

¹⁰ Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighborhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and relics. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin.¹² This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to exceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprises. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favor of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth.¹³ Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit everywhere resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to Queen Catherine by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favorable to the party

¹² Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's *Epitome of Chronicles*.

¹³ *Strype*, vol. i, p. 181.

which he had espoused.¹⁴ The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the star-chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The Parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture;¹⁵ and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The Bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others were condemned for misprision of treason, because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth;¹⁶ and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened in order to give her access to the chapel for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

[1535.] The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamor was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The Parliament had made it treason to endeavor depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles that of supreme head of the church; it was inferred that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the

¹⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

¹⁵ 25 Henry VIII. cap. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.

¹⁶ Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the Parliament, in passing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free, people should be governed; but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern, unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress, pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favor which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and, without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness.¹⁷ In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity that, even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it.

This promotion of a man merely for his opposition to royal authority roused the indignation of the king, and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be pre-

¹⁷ Fuller's Church Hist. book 5, p. 203.

vailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy; he was only inveigled to say that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative was a two-edged sword: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy.¹⁸ Trials were mere formalities during this reign; the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down again let me shift for myself." The executioner asked him forgiveness; he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard; "for," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not less the objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and

¹⁸ More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

Paul III., of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favored Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England; and the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters that, in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so capital an injury that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days in order to answer for their crimes; if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any Catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use.¹⁹ But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced; the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the Protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him.²⁰ He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant daughter Elizabeth with the Duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. These two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition; and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox, Bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, Lord of Langley,

¹⁹ Sanders, p. 148.

²⁰ Herbert, pp. 350, 351.

to treat with them. But during the first fervors of the Reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity that they exercised such extreme rigor against all preachers of the Reformation in their respective dominions.²¹ Henry carried the feint so far that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in everything else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee that, even while the league of Smalcalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

[1536.] During these negotiations an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave; she died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king, in which she gave him the appellation of "her most dear lord, king, and husband." She told him that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of

²¹ Sleidan, lib. 10.

his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven; and that she had no other request to make than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves, and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things."²² The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but Queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.²³

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity upon these conditions,²⁴ that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turks, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself; as to the conditions proposed, the proceedings against the Bishop of Rome were so just and so fully ratified by the Parliament of England that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigor which became him against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them or to assist the injured party.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in

²² Herbert, p. 403.

²⁴ Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No. 50.

²³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.

Europe. Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body; not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the Duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the Duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession was to gain time till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person with an army of fifty thousand men, but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of imperialists, near thirty thousand strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully insured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces, and, embarking them on board vessels which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the King of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to

the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend; they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore despatched Pommeraye to London in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humor and passion than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and, in the end, every thing remained in tranquillity both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing insured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age; the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable, and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigor, more than his address, acquired him in all the foreign negotiations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the Catholic religion; and every other disadvantage attending that communion seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays—all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations, being established everywhere, proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry, and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the Reformation abroad, which had everywhere been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen that, in the progress of the contest, he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent—a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others as commissioners, who carried on everywhere a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to

bring in informations against their brethren ; the slightest evidence was credited ; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the Reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses : whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness ; signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded and more dissolute than they are in any Roman Catholic country at present ; but still the reproaches which it is safest to credit are such as point out vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned are very credible among men who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people may be regarded as certain in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness, also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question ; and though monks were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the génius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands ; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four-and-twenty, whose vows were, on that account, supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened even to such as were above that age ; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the Parliament ; and in order to prepare men for the innova-

tions projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavored to be excited in the nation against institutions which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the Parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year.²⁵ These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame and being exposed to less scrutiny;²⁶ and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more.²⁷ It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law, so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded from this circumstance that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony.²⁸

The act formerly passed empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon law was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority and kept the clergy in still greater dependence.

Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended everywhere. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished this session.²⁹

The Commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will when he formerly endeavored to

²⁵ 27 Henry VIII. cap. 28.

²⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

²⁷ It is pretended (see Hollingshed, p. 939) that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been mendicants; for the revenue could not have supported near that number. The mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

²⁸ 27 Henry VIII. cap. 27.

²⁹ 27 Henry VIII. cap. 4.

secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law such as he dictated to them. It was enacted that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.³⁰

After all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the Parliament—a Parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not choose, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same Parliament above six years—a practice at that time unusual in England.

The convocation which sat during this session was engaged in a very important work—the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the Scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the Reformation asserted that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of Heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had published that salutary doctrine to all nations; that if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence; that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven; and that, as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and, above all, the Holy Scriptures, should be set before them, and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

The favorers of the ancient religion maintained, on the

³⁰ 27 Henry VIII. cap 10.

other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom Heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction ; that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles, and it was a mockery to set materials before them of which they could not possibly make any proper use ; that even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behavior ; that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension ; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision, except by the promise made them in Scripture that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her ; that the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness ; nor would the Scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy—on the contrary, they would much augment—those fatal illusions ; that sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude ; that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion ; that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the Scripture, and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles ; and that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority ; and

it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the most secure, establishments.

These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favor, and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune.³¹ But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her was his jealousy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gayety, if not levity, of character which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influ-

³¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

ence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen; the Viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favor which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance, and, finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorse and contrarieties, and might at last have served only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honor to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honored than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to

attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connection. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours.³² He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford, and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate, unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison, she fell on her knees and prayed God so to help her as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow; she had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself; upon which she defied him;³³ she affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when she played on the harpsichord; but she acknowledged that he had once had the boldness to tell her that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candor and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

³² Burnet, vol. i. p. 198.

³³ Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favored and every countenance had smiled upon was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the Catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavored to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations and of the warmest protestations of innocence.³⁴ This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one Lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen;³⁵ but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession, for they never dared to confront him with her, and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favor; and an offer of life was made him if he would confess his crime and accuse the queen; but he generously rejected the proposal, and said that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless; but, for his part, he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more. Their uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown. The chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed

³⁴ See note [AA] at the end of the volume.

³⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

before some company. Part of the charge against her was that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart, and had said to each of them apart that she loved him better than any person whatsoever; "which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her." By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign, in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court both against the queen and Lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced she was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate;" and then, turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate; he recalled to his memory that a little after her appearance in the English court some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Piercy; and he now questioned that nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them; he received the sacrament upon it, before the Duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity.³⁶ The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigor, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king.³⁷ The afflicted primate who sat as judge thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that, if her

³⁶ Herbert, p. 384.

³⁷ Henylin, p. 94.

marriage were, from the beginning, invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him in thus uniformly continuing his endeavors for her advancement. From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower and all who approached her she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very slender;" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of Queen Catherine and her opposition to the king's will had much alienated him from the Lady Mary. Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth prevailed, in these last moments, over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king, called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best.³⁸ She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's ac-

³⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

cusation; had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution.³⁹ His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The Lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father⁴⁰ containing her assent to the articles required of her; upon which she was received into favor. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the Lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blessed with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new Parliament; and he here, in his speech, made a merit to his people that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Samson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry

³⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.

⁴⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 207. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

found that the Parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified;⁴¹ that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters-patent, to dispose of the crown—an enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violently capricious in his humor. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will of letters-patent, any castles, honors, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, to espouse the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king by his sister, the Queen of Scots, and the Earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of Parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown; the king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters-patent, whatever act of Parliament had been passed before he was four-and-twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the Bishop of Rome by word or writ, or endeavored in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the

⁴¹ The Parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason: "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous Lady Jane, who, for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

penalty of a *præmunire*; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists."⁴² The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry, but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This Parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government.⁴³

The extreme complaisance of the convocation, which sat at the same time with the Parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the Catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses. But the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new assumed prerogative, the supremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancor. Cromwell presided as vicar-general; and though the Catholic party expected that, on the fall of Queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer, the Primate; Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Shaxton, of Salisbury; Hilsey, of Rochester; Fox, of Hereford; Barlow, of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee, Archbishop of York; Stokesley, Bishop of London; Tonsal, of Durham; Gardiner, of Winchester; Longland, of Lincoln; Sherborne, of Chichester; Nix, of Norwich; and Kite, of Carlisle. The former party,

⁴² 28 Henry VIII. cap. 10.

⁴³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power ; the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles ; and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humor, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

The church in general was averse to the Reformation ; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern Protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured ; but in the preamble of their representation they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said " that they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey ; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished ; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom." ⁴⁴

The convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith ; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian ; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers ; auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the Catholics ; no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments ; and in this omission the influence of the Protestants appeared ; the real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine ; the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The Catholics prevailed in asserting that the use of images was warranted by Scripture ; the Protes-

⁴⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

taunts, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations, in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted by the convocation denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

But the article with regard to purgatory contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose: "Since, according to due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning, all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But since the place where departed souls are retained before they reach paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture, all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them."⁴⁵

These articles, when framed by the convocation and corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom could one man be found, except Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious divisions have place, a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found, and these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the same dogmas. The Protestants, all of them, carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles; none of the Catholics went so far; and the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium,

⁴⁵ Collier, vol. ii. p. 122 et seq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprises which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: he could say to it, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther," and he made every vote of his Parliament and convocation subservient not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtleties.

The concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which the rest were exposed,⁴⁶ had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the pity and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favor.⁴⁷ Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others employed in visiting the monas-

⁴⁶ See note [BB] at the end of the volume.

⁴⁷ Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

teries intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent.⁴⁸

But the people did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics, the authority which he exercised, being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published in the king's name, without the consent either of Parliament or convocation, an ordinance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, relics; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harbored in their own bosoms.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Makrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thousand men;⁴⁹ but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed; and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances.⁵⁰ Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably

⁴⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

⁵⁰ Herbert, p. 410.

⁴⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert.

suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: the populace was dispersed; Makrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed; the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations; a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection that was raised in those parts.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts more formidable than those of Lincolnshire, because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*; some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice and of the five wounds of Christ;⁵¹ they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle; they all took an oath that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about forty thousand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The Earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton; Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough-castle against them;⁵² Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed the orders from court, and levied troops. The Earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and

⁵¹ Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

⁵² Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

York; they had laid siege to Pomfret-castle, into which the Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy had thrown themselves; it was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The Duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favor to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent them a herald, whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony, he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the Archbishop of York on one hand and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be despatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a host-

age for his security ; but the king, when consulted, replied that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant that Norfolk rejected them ; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit ; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance as made it impracticable for them to execute their design ; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The Duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty ; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints, in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government than a blind man with regard to colors ; “ and we,” he added, “ with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council.”

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court ; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby, and the rebels besieged Carlisle with eight thousand men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight ; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death, by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to surprise Hull met with no better success ; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted ; and, from a

movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered,⁵³ and he erected by patent a court of justice at York for deciding lawsuits in the northern counties—a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Soon after this prosperous success an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died two days after.⁵⁴ But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of Earl of Hereford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created Earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; Sir John Russel, Lord Russel.

[1538.] The suppression of the rebellion and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars which were carried on with

⁵³ Herbert, p. 428.

⁵⁴ Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favor the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expense on his account. A truce concluded, about this time, between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued desirous of cementing an union with the German Protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavored to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy.⁵⁵ Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous, also, lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the Scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people by proclamation "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and liberality to them: who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife; and he ordered that no man should read the Bible aloud so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the Catholics and the Protestants.

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive, because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion. This measure was the entire destruction of the monasteries; the present opportunity seemed favorable for

⁵⁵ Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5, fol. 173.

that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humor of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some, also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and, on the whole, the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction.⁵⁶ There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination, and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

⁵⁶ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 328.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics, also, and other superstitions which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic: the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it into a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.⁵⁷

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley, in Kent,

⁵⁷ Herbert, pp. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.

and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips and eyes and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's Cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called *Darvel Gatherin*, was brought to London, and cut in pieces, and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forrest,⁵⁸ who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his relics wrought in favor of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year, and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honor, which lasted fifteen days; plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced, in that place, the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered, in one year, three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and threepence. But next year the disproportion was still greater; there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eightpence; but St. Thomas had got for his share nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and threepence.⁵⁹ Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this mirac-

⁵⁸ Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker. p. 286.

⁵⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

ulous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas; he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor; he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries, of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds.⁶⁰ It is worthy of observation that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenue of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income—a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at a low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.⁶¹

Great murmurs were everywhere excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government.⁶² While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures; ⁶³ he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favorites and court-

⁶⁰ Herbert. Camden Speed.

⁶² Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 41.

⁶¹ See note [CC] at the end of the volume.

⁶³ Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800.

iers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate.⁶⁴ He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits, and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks; he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which five subsist at this day; and all by these means of expense and dissipation the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not, in these respects, any proportion to those of the lesser.

Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen—an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expense of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks; that of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained but thirty.⁶⁵ In order to dissipate their revenues and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome,

⁶⁴ Fuller.

⁶⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high-sounding epithets and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side; he had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the Emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostasy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman, Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of the Duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which, during his whole life, he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favors, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter,⁶⁶ the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favor of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua; he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in

⁶⁶ Goodwin's Annals.

England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor, and his sovereign. He replied by writing a treatise of *the Unity of the Church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family and to the Catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation, and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536.⁶⁷ Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English Catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the Queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, Lord Montacute; and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brother to the cardinal. These persons were indicted, and tried and convicted before Lord Audley, who presided in

⁶⁷ Herbert.

the trial as high steward; they were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men; we only know that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court forms no presumption of his guilt; though as no historian of credit mentions, in the present case, any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the Marquis of Exeter and his associates.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 103.

This story of the six burgesses of Calais, like all other extraordinary stories, is somewhat to be suspected ; and so much the more, as Avesbury (p. 167) who is particular in his narration of the surrender of Calais, says nothing of it ; and, on the contrary, extols in general the king's generosity and lenity to the inhabitants. The numberless mistakes of Froissart, proceeding either from negligence, credulity, or love of the marvellous, invalidate very much his testimony, even though he was a contemporary, and though his history was dedicated to Queen Philippa herself. It is a mistake to imagine that the patrons of dedications read the books, much less vouch for all the contents of them. It is not a slight testimony that should make us give credit to a story so dishonorable to Edward, especially after that proof of his humanity, in allowing a free passage to all the women, children, and infirm people, at the beginning of the siege ; at least, it is scarcely to be believed that, if the story has any foundation, he seriously meant to execute his menaces against the six townsmen of Calais.

NOTE [B], p. 106.

There was a singular instance about this time of the prevalence of chivalry and gallantry in the nations of Europe. A solemn duel of thirty knights against thirty was fought between Bembrough, an Englishman, and Beaumanoir, a Breton, of the party of Charles of Blois. The knights of the two nations came into the field ; and before the combat began, Beaumanoir called out that it would be seen that day "who had the fairest mistresses." After a bloody combat the Bretons prevailed, and gained for their prize full liberty to boast of their mistresses' beauty. It is remarkable that two such famous generals as Sir Robert Knolles and Hugh Claverley drew their swords in this ridiculous contest (see *Père Daniel*, vol. ii. pp. 536, 537, &c.). The women not only instigated the champions to those rough if not bloody frays of tournament, but also frequented the tournaments during all the reign of Edward, whose spirit of gallantry encouraged this practice (see Knyghton, p. 2597).

NOTE [C], p. 122.

This is a prodigious sum, and probably near the half of what the king received from the Parliament during the whole course of his reign. It must be remarked that a tenth and fifteenth (which was always thought a high grant) were, in the eighth year of his reign, fixed at about twenty-nine thousand pounds ; there were said to be near thirty thousand sacks of wool exported every year ; a sack of wool was, at a medium, sold for five pounds. Upon these suppositions it would be easy to compute all the parliamentary grants, taking the lists as they stand in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 780 ; though somewhat must still be left to conjecture. This king levied more money on his subjects than any of his predecessors ; and the Parliament frequently complain of the poverty of the people, and the oppressions under which they labored. But it is to be remarked that a third of the French king's ransom was yet unpaid when war broke out anew between the two crowns : his son chose rather to employ his money in combating the English than in enriching them (see Rymer, vol. viii. p. 315).

NOTE [D], p. 149.

In the fifth year of the king "the Commons complained of the government about the king's person, his court, the excessive number of his servants, of the abuses in the chancery, king's bench, common pleas, exchequer, and of grievous oppressions in the country by the great multitudes of maintainers of quarrels" (men linked in confederacies together), "who behaved themselves like kings in the country, so as there was very little law or right, and of other things which they said were the cause of the late commotions under Wat Tyler" (Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 365). This irregular government, which no king and no House of Commons had been able to remedy, was the source of the licentiousness of the great and turbulency of the people, as well as tyranny of the princes. If subjects would enjoy liberty and king's security, the laws must be executed.

In the ninth of this reign the Commons also discovered an accuracy and a jealousy of liberty which we should little expect in those rude times. "It was agreed by Parliament," says Cotton, p. 309, "that the subsidy of wools, of woolfells, and skins, granted to the king until the time of midsummer then ensuing should cease from the same time unto the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, for that thereby the king should be interrupted for claiming such grant as due" (see also Cotton, p. 198).

NOTE [E], p. 158.

Knyghton, p. 2715, &c. The same author (p. 2680) tells us that the king, in return to the message, said that he would not, for their desire, remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen. This author also tells us that the king said to the commissioners, when they harangued him, that he saw his subjects were rebellious, and his best way would be to call in the King of France to his aid. But it is plain that all these speeches were either intended by Knyghton merely as an ornament to his history or are false. For (1.) When the five lords accuse the king's minister in the next Parliament, and impute to them every rash act of the king, they speak nothing of these replies which are so obnoxious, were so recent, and are pretended to have been so public. (2.) The king, so far from having any connections at that time with France, was threatened with a dangerous invasion from that kingdom. This story seems to have been taken from the reproaches afterwards thrown out against him, and to have been transferred by the historians to this time to which they cannot be applied.

NOTE [F], p. 162.

We must except the 12th article, which accuses Brembre of having cut off the heads of twenty-two prisoners, confined for felony or debt, without warrant or process of law. But, as it is not conceivable what interest Brembre could have to treat these felons and debtors in such a manner, we may presume that the fact is either false or misrepresented. It was in these men's power to say any thing against the persons accused; no defence or apology was admitted; all was lawless will and pleasure.

They are also accused of designs to murder the lords; but these accusations either are general or destroy one another. Sometimes, as in article 15th, they intend to murder them by means of the mayor and city of London; sometimes, as in article 28th, by trial and false inquests; sometimes, as in article 28th, by means of the King of France, who was to receive Calais for his pains.

NOTE [G], p. 163.

In general, the Parliament in those days never paid a proper regard to Edward's statute of treasons, though one of the most advantageous laws for the subject that has ever been enacted. In the 17th of the king "the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester complain to Richard that Sir Thomas Talbot, with others of his adherents, conspired the death of the said dukes in divers parts of Cheshire, as the same was confessed and well known; and praying that the Parliament may judge of the fault. Whereupon the king and the lords in the Parliament judged the same fact to be open and high treason; and hereupon they award two writs, the one to the sheriff of York, and the other to the sheriffs of Derby, to take the body of the said Sir Thomas, returnable in the king's bench in the month of Easter then ensuing. And open proclamation was made in Westminster-hall that, upon the sheriff's return, and at the next coming in of the said Sir Thomas, the said Thomas should be convicted of treason, and incur the loss and pain of the same; and all such as should receive him after the proclamation should incur the same loss and pain" (Cotton, p. 354). It is to be observed that this ex-

traordinary judgment was passed in a time of tranquillity. Though the statute itself of Edward III. reserves a power to the Parliament to declare any new species of treason, it is not to be supposed that this power was reserved to the House of Lords alone, or that men were to be judged by a law *ex post facto*. At least, if such be the meaning of the clause, it may be affirmed that men were at that time very ignorant of the first principles of law and justice.

NOTE [H], p. 169.

In the preceding Parliament the Commons had shown a disposition very complaisant to the king; yet there happened an incident in their proceedings which is curious, and shows us the state of the House during that period. The members were either country gentlemen or merchants, who were assembled for a few days, and were entirely unacquainted with business; so that it was easy to lead them astray and draw them into votes and resolutions very different from their intention. Some petitions concerning the state of the nation were voted, in which, among other things, the House recommended frugality to the king, and for that purpose desired that the court should not be so much frequented as formerly by *bishops and ladies*. The king was displeased with this freedom; the Commons very humbly craved pardon; he was not satisfied unless they would name the mover of the petitions. It happened to be one Haxey, whom the Parliament, in order to make atonement, condemned for this offence to die the death of a traitor. But the king, at the desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates, pardoned him. When a Parliament, in those times, not agitated by any faction, and being at entire freedom, could be guilty of such monstrous extravagance, it is easy to judge what might be expected from them in more trying situations (see Cotton's Abridg. pp. 361, 362).

NOTE [I], p. 179.

To show how little credit is to be given to this charge against Richard, we may observe that a law, in the 13 Edward III., had been enacted against the continuance of sheriffs for more than one year; but the inconvenience of changes having afterwards appeared from experience, the Commons, in the twentieth of this king, applied by petition that the sheriffs might be continued; though that petition had not been enacted into a statute by reason of other disagreeable circumstances which attended it (see Cotton, p. 361). It was certainly a very moderate exercise of the dispensing power in the king to continue the sheriffs after he found that that practice would be acceptable to his subjects, and had been applied for by one House of Parliament; yet is this made an article of charge against him by the present Parliament (see Art. 18). Walsingham, speaking of a period early in Richard's minority, says, "But what do acts of Parliament signify, when after they are made they take no effect; since the king, by the advice of the privy-council, takes upon him to alter, or wholly set aside, all those things which by general consent had been ordained in Parliament?" If Richard therefore exercised the dispensing power, he was warranted by the examples of his uncles and grandfather, and indeed of all his predecessors from the time of Henry III. inclusive.

NOTE [K], p. 185.

The following passage in Cotton's Abridgment, p. 196, shows a strange prejudice against the church and churchmen. "The Commons afterwards coming into the Parliament, and making their protestation, showed that for want of good redress about the king's person, in his household, in all his courts, touching maintainers in every county, and purveyors, the Commons were daily pilled, and nothing defended against the enemy, and that it should shortly deprive the king and undo the state. Wherefore, in the same government, they entirely require redress. Whereupon the king appointed sundry bishops, lords, and nobles to sit in privy-council about these matters; who, since that they must begin at the head and go at the request of the Commons, they, in the presence of the king, charged his confessor not to come into court but upon the four principal festivals." We should little expect that a popish privy-council, in order to preserve the king's morals, should order his confessor to be kept at a distance from him. This incident happened in the minority of Richard. As the popes had for a long time resided at Avignon, and the majority of the sacred college were Frenchmen, this circumstance naturally increased the aversion of the nation to the papal power; but the prejudice against the English clergy cannot be accounted for from that cause.

NOTE [L], p. 441.

That we may judge how arbitrary a court that of the constable of England was, we may peruse the patent granted to the Earl of Rivers in this reign as it is to be found in Spellman's Glossery *in verb.* Constabularius; as also more fully in Rymer, vol. xi. p. 581. Here is a clause of it: "Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra eidem Comiti de Rivers plenam potestatem damus ad cognoscendum et procedendum, in omnibus et singulis causis et negotiis, de et super crimine læsæ majestatis, seu super occasione cæterisque causis, quibuscunque per præfatum Comitem de Rivers, ut constabularium Angliæ—quæ in curia constabularii Angliæ ab antiquo, viz. tempore dicti domini Gulielmi conquestoris, seu aliquo tempore citra tractari, audiri, examinari, aut decidi consueverant, aut jure debuerant, aut debent, causasque et negotia prædicta cum omnibus et singulis emergentibus, incidentibus et connexis, audiendum, examinandum, et fine debito terminandum, etiam *summarie et de plano, sine strepitu et figura justitiæ, sola jacti veritate inspecta*, ac etiam manu regia, si opportunum visum fuerit eidem Comiti de Rivers, vices nostras, appellatione remota." The office of constable was perpetual in the monarchy; its jurisdiction was not limited to times of war, as appears from this patent, and as we learn from Spellman; yet its authority was in direct contradiction to Magna Charta, and it is evident that no *regular* liberty could subsist with it. It involved a full dictatorial power continually subsisting in the state. The only check on the crown, besides the want of force to support all its prerogatives, was that the office of constable was commonly either hereditary or during life, and the person invested with it was, for that reason, not so proper an instrument of arbitrary power in the king. Accordingly the office was suppressed by Henry VIII., the most arbitrary of all the English princes. The practice, however, of exercising martial law still subsisted, and was not abolished till the Petition of Right under Charles I. This was the epoch of true liberty, confirmed by the Restoration and enlarged and secured by the Revolution.

NOTE [M], p. 323.

We shall give an instance. Almost all the historians, even Comines and the continuator of the annals of Croyland, assert that Edward was about this time taken prisoner by Clarence and Warwick, and was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York, brother to the earl; but being allowed to take the diversion of hunting by this prelate, he made his escape, and afterwards chased the rebels out of the kingdom. But that all the story is false appears from Rymer, where we find that the king, throughout all this period, continually exercised his authority and never was interrupted in his government. On the 7th of March, 1470, he gives a commission of array to Clarence, whom he then imagined a good subject; and on the 23d of the same month we find him issuing an order for apprehending him. Besides, in the king's manifesto against the duke and earl (Claus. 10 Edward IV. m. 7, 8) where he enumerates all their treasons, he mentions no such fact; he does not so much as accuse them of exciting young Welles's rebellion; he only says that they exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. We may judge how smaller facts will be misrepresented by historians who can in the most material transactions mistake so grossly. There may even some doubt arise with regard to the proposal of marriage made to Bona of Savoy, though almost all the historians concur in it, and the fact be very likely in itself; for there are no traces in Rymer of any such embassy of Warwick's to France. The chief certainty in this and the preceding reign arises either from public records or from the notice taken of certain passages by the French historians. On the contrary, for some centuries after the conquest the French history is not complete without the assistance of English authors. We may conjecture that the reason of the scarcity of historians during this period was the destruction of the convents which ensued so soon after; copies of the more recent historians not being yet sufficiently dispersed, these histories have perished.

NOTE [N], p. 354.

Sir Thomas More, who has been followed, or rather transcribed, by all the historians of this short reign, says that Jane Shore had fallen into connections with Lord Hastings; and this account agrees best with the course of the events; but in a proclamation of Richard's, to be found in Rymer, vol. xii. p. 204, the Marquis of Dorset is reproached with these connections. This reproach, however, might have been invented by Richard or founded only on popular rumor, and is not sufficient to overbalance the authority of Sir Thomas More. The proclamation is remarkable for the hypocritical purity of manners affected by Richard: this bloody and treacherous tyrant upbraids the marquis and others with their gallantries and intrigues as the most terrible enormities.

NOTE [O], p. 371.

Every one that has perused the ancient monkish writers knows that, however barbarous their own style, they are full of allusions to the Latin classics, especially the poets. There seem also, in those middle ages, to have remained many ancient books that are now lost. Malmesbury, who flourished in the reign of Henry I. and King Stephen, quotes Livy's description of Cæsar's passage over the Rubicon; Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry II., alludes to a passage in the larger history of Sallust. In the collection of letters which passes under the name of Thomas à Becket we see how familiar all the ancient history and ancient books were to the more ingenious and more dignified churchmen of that time, and consequently how much that order of men must have surpassed all the other members of the society. That prelate and his friends call each other philosophers in all the course of their correspondence, and consider the rest of the world as sunk in total ignorance and barbarism.

NOTE [P], p. 435.

Stowe, Baker, Speed, Biondini, Hollingshed, Bacon. Some late writers, particularly Mr. Carte, have doubted whether Perkin was an impostor, and have even asserted him to be the true Plantagenet. But to refute this opinion, we need only reflect on the following particulars. (1.) Though the circumstances of the wars between the two roses be, in general, involved in great obscurity, yet is there a most luminous ray thrown on all the transactions during the usurpation of Richard, and the murder of the two young princes, by the narrative of Sir Thomas More, whose singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment make him an evidence beyond all exception. No historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight; he may also be justly esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes; for though he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the chief actors during the period of Richard; and it is plain, from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from the eye-witnesses themselves; his authority, therefore, is irresistible, and sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts and scruples and objections. For in reality his narrative is liable to no solid objection, nor is there any mistake detected in it. He says, indeed, that the protector's partisans, particularly Dr. Shaw, spread abroad rumors of Edward IV.'s pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy; whereas it now appears from record that the Parliament afterwards declared the king's children illegitimate, on pretence of his pre-contract with Lady Eleanor Talbot. But it must be remarked that neither of these pre-contracts was ever so much as attempted to be proved; and why might not the protector's flatterers and partisans have made use sometimes of one false rumor, sometimes of another? Sir Thomas More mentions the one rumor as well as the other, and treats them both lightly, as they deserved. It is also thought incredible by Mr. Carte that Dr. Shaw should have been encouraged by Richard to calumniate openly his mother, the Duchess of York, with whom that prince lived on good terms. But if there be any difficulty in this supposition, we need only suppose that Dr. Shaw might have concerted, in general, his sermon with the protector or his ministers, and yet have chosen himself the particular topics, and chosen them very foolishly. This appears, indeed, to have been the case, by the disgrace into which he fell afterwards, and by the protector's neglect of him. (2.) If Sir Thomas's quality of contemporary be disputed with regard to the Duke of Gloucester's protectorate, it cannot possibly be disputed with regard to Perkin's imposture: he was then a man, and had a full opportunity of knowing and examining and judging of the truth. In asserting that the Duke of York was murdered by his uncle, he certainly asserts, in the most express terms, that Perkin, who personated him, was an impostor. (3.) There is another great genius who has carefully treated this point of history; so great a genius as to be esteemed with justice one of the chief ornaments of the nation, and indeed one of the most sublime writers that any age or nation has produced. It is Lord Bacon I mean, who has related at full length, and without the least doubt or hesitation, all the impostures of Perkin Warbeck. It is to be objected that Lord Bacon was no contemporary, and that we have the same materials as he upon which to form our judgment; it must be remarked that Lord Bacon plainly composed his elaborate and exact history from many records and papers which are now lost, and that, consequently, he is always to be cited as an original historian. It were very strange, if Mr. Carte's opinion were just, that, among all the papers which Lord Bacon perused, he never found any reason to suspect Perkin to be the true Plantagenet. There was at that time no interest in defaming Richard III. Bacon, besides, is a very unbiassed historian, nowise partial to Henry; we

know the detail of that prince's oppressive government from him alone. It may only be thought that, in summing up his character, he has laid the colors of blame more faintly than the very facts he mentions seem to require. Let me remark, in passing, as a singularity, how much English history has been beholden to four great men, who have possessed the highest dignity in the law: More, Bacon, Clarendon, and Whitlocke. (4.) But if contemporary evidence be so much sought after, there may in this case be produced the strongest and most undeniable in the world. The queen-dowager, her son the Marquis of Dorset, a man of excellent understanding, Sir Edward Woodville, her brother, Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the king's sister, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundel, the Courtneys, the Cheneys, the Talbots, the Stanleys, and, in a word, all the partisans of the house of York—that is, the men of chief dignity in the nation—all these great persons were so assured of the murder of the two princes that they applied to the Earl of Richmond, the mortal enemy of their party and family; they projected to set him on the throne, which must have been utter ruin to them if the princes were alive; and they stipulated to marry him to the Princess Elizabeth as heir to the crown, who in that case was no heir at all. Had each of those persons written the memoirs of his own times, would he not have said that Richard murdered his nephews? Or would their pen be a better declaration than their actions of their real sentiments? (5.) But we have another contemporary authority still better than even these great persons so much interested to know the truth; it is that of Richard himself: he projected to marry his niece, a very unusual alliance in England, in order to unite her title with his own. He knew, therefore, her title to be good; for as to the declaration of her illegitimacy, as it went upon no proof, or even pretence of proof, it was always regarded with the utmost contempt by the nation, and was considered as one of those parliamentary transactions, so frequent in that period, which were scandalous in themselves and had no manner of authority. It was even so much despised as not to be reversed by Parliament after Henry and Elizabeth were on the throne. (6.) We have also, as contemporary evidence, the universal established opinion of the age, both abroad and at home. This point was regarded as so uncontroverted that when Richard notified his accession to the court of France, that court was struck with horror at his abominable parricide in murdering both his nephews, as Philip de Comines tells us; and this sentiment went to such an unusual height that, as we learn from the same author, the court would not make the least reply to him. (7.) The same reasons which convinced that age of the parricide still subsists, and ought to carry the most undoubted evidence to us; namely, the very circumstance of the sudden disappearance of the princes from the Tower, and their appearance nowhere else. Every one said, "they have not escaped from their uncle, for he makes no search after them; he has not conveyed them elsewhere, for it is his business to declare so in order to remove the imputation of murder from himself. He never would needlessly subject himself to the infamy and danger of being esteemed a parricide without acquiring the security attending that crime. They were in his custody; he is answerable for them; if he gives no account of them, as he has a plain interest in their death, he must, by every rule of common-sense, be regarded as the murderer. His flagrant usurpation, as well as his other treacherous and cruel actions, makes no better be expected from him. He could not say, with Cain, that he was not his nephews' keeper." This reasoning, which was irrefragable at the very first, became every day stronger, from Richard's continued silence and the general and total ignorance of the place of these princes' abode. Richard's reign lasted about two years beyond this period; and surely he could not have found a better expedient for disappointing the Earl of Richmond's projects, as well as justifying his own character, than the producing of his nephews. (8.) If it were necessary, amidst this blaze of evidence, to produce proofs which in any other case would have been regarded as considerable, and would have carried great validity with them, I might mention Dighton and Tyrrel's account of the murder. This last gentleman especially was not likely to subject himself to the reproach of so great a crime by an imposture which it appears did not acquire him the favor of Henry. (9.) The Duke of York, being a boy of nine years of age, could not have made his escape without the assistance of some elder persons. Would it not have been their chief concern instantly to convey intelligence of so great an event to his mother, the queen-dowager, to his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy, and to the other friends of the family? The duchess protected Simnel—a project which, had it been successful, must have ended in the crowning of Warwick and the exclusion of the Duke of York! This, among many other proofs, evinces that she was ignorant of the escape of that prince, which is impossible had it been real. (10.) The total silence with regard to the persons who aided him in his escape, as also with regard to the place of his abode during more than eight years, is a sufficient proof of the im-

posture. (11.) Perkin's own account of his escape is incredible and absurd. He said that murderers were employed by his uncle to kill him and his brother; they perpetrated the crime against his brother, but took compassion on him and allowed him to escape. This account is contained in all the historians of that age. (12.) Perkin himself made a full confession of his imposture no less than three times: once when he surrendered himself prisoner, a second time when he was set in the stocks at Cheapside and Westminster, and a third time, which carries undoubted evidence, at the foot of the gibbet on which he was hanged. Not the least surmise that the confession had ever been procured by torture; and surely the last time he had nothing farther to fear. (13.) Had not Henry been assured that Perkin was a ridiculous impostor, disavowed by the whole nation, he never would have allowed him to live an hour after he came into his power; much less would he have twice pardoned him. His treatment of the innocent Earl of Warwick, who in reality had no title to the crown, is a sufficient confirmation of this reasoning. (14.) We know with certainty whence the whole imposture came, namely, from the intrigues of the Duchess of Burgundy; she had before acknowledged and supported Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor. It is remarkable that Mr. Carte, in order to preserve the weight of the duchess's testimony in favor of Perkin, suppresses entirely this material fact, a strong effect of party prejudices, and this author's desire of blackening Henry VII., whose hereditary title to the crown was defective. (15.) There never was at that time any evidence or shadow of evidence produced of Perkin's identity with Richard Plantagenet. Richard had disappeared when nine years of age, and Perkin did not appear till he was a man. Could any one from his aspect pretend then to be sure of the identity? He had got some stories concerning Richard's childhood and the court of England; but all that it was necessary for a boy of nine to remark or remember was easily suggested to him by the Duchess of Burgundy, or Frion, Henry's secretary, or by any body that had ever lived at court. It is true, many persons of note were at first deceived; but the discontents against Henry's government, and the general enthusiasm for the house of York, account sufficiently for this temporary delusion. Every body's eyes were opened long before Perkin's death. (16.) The circumstance of finding the two dead bodies in the reign of Charles II. is not surely indifferent. They were found in the very place which More, Bacon, and other ancient authors had assigned as the place of interment of the young princes; the bones corresponded, by their size, to the age of the princes; the secret and irregular place of their interment, not being in holy ground, proves that the boys had been secretly murdered; and in the Tower no boys but those who are very nearly related to the crown can be exposed to a violent death. If we compare all these circumstances, we shall find that the inference is just and strong that they were the bodies of Edward the Fifth and his brother; the very inference that was drawn at the time of the discovery.

Since the publication of this history, Mr. Walpole has published his historic doubts concerning Richard III. Nothing can be a stronger proof how ingenious and agreeable that gentleman's pen is than his being able to make an inquiry concerning a remote point of English history an object of general conversation. The foregoing note has been enlarged on account of that performance.

NOTE [Q], p. 446.

Rot. Parl. 3 Henry VII. n. 17. The preamble is remarkable, and shows the state of the nation at this time. "The king, our sovereign lord, remembereth how, by our unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs and tokens, retainers by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and other embraceries of his subjects, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making panels, and untrue returns by taking money, by juries, &c., the policy of this nation is most subdued." It must indeed be confessed that such a state of the country required great discretionary power in the sovereign; nor will the same maxims of government suit such a rude people that may be proper in a more advanced stage of society. The establishment of the star-chamber, or the enlargement of its power in the reign of Henry VII., might have been as wise as the abolition of it in that of Charles I.

NOTE [R], p. 448.

The Duke of Northumberland has lately printed a household book of an old earl of that family who lived at this time; the author has been favored with the perusal of it; and it contains many curious particulars, which mark the manners and way of living in that rude, not to say barbarous, age, as well as the prices of commodities. I have extracted a few of them from that piece, which gives a

true picture of ancient manners, and is one of the most singular monuments that English antiquity affords us. For we may be confident, however rude the strokes, that no baron's family was on a nobler or more splendid footing. The family consists of one hundred and sixty-six persons, masters and servants; fifty-seven strangers are reckoned upon every day; on the whole, two hundred and twenty-three. Twopence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expense of each for meat, drink, and firing. This would make a groat of our present money; supposing provisions between three and four times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteenpence—no great sum for a nobleman's housekeeping, especially considering that the chief expense of a family at that time consisted in meat and drink; for the sum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expense is one thousand one hundred and eighteen pounds, seventeen shillings, and eightpence; meat, drink, and firing cost seven hundred and ninety-six pounds, eleven shillings, and twopence, more than two thirds of the whole. In a modern family it is not above a third (pp. 157, 158, 159). The whole expense of the earl's family is managed with an exactness that is very rigid, and, if we make no allowance for ancient manners, such as may seem to border on an extreme, inasmuch that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, veal, nay, stock fish and salmon, are determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that purpose; if a servant be absent a day, his mess is struck off; if he go on my lord's business, board wages are allowed him, eightpence a day for his journey in winter, fivepence in summer; when he stays in any place, twopence a day are allowed him, besides the maintenance of his horse; somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every month throughout the year, and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eightpence a quarter. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter; two hogsheds are to be made of a quarter, which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a day to each person (p. 4), and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at All-hallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and fourpence a piece, and twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helen's, at eight shillings a piece. These are to be put into the pastures to feed, and are to serve from Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef. During all the rest of the year they live on salted meat (p. 5). One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year, which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef (p. 18). Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence apiece; and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas (p. 5). Only twenty-five hogs are allowed, at two shillings a piece; twenty-eight veals, at twentypence; forty lambs, at tenpence or a shilling (p. 7). These seem to be reserved for my lord's table or that of the upper servants, called the knight's table. The other servants, as they eat salted meat almost through the whole year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet; so that there cannot be any thing more erroneous than the magnificent ideas formed of "the roast beef of old England." We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: only seventy ells of linen, at eightpence an ell, are annually allowed for this great family; no sheets were used; this linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table and one table-cloth for the knights (p. 16). This last, I suppose, was washed only once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year, and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tuns and two hogsheds of Gascony wine, at the rate of four pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence a tun (p. 6). Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year (p. 14). The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon. The gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted (pp. 314, 318). My lord and lady have set on their table for breakfast at seven o'clock in the morning a quart of beer, as much wine, two pieces of salt fish, six red herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In flesh days half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled (pp. 73, 75). Mass is ordered to be said at six o'clock, in order, says the household-book, that all my lord's servants may rise early (p. 170). Only twenty-four fires are allowed, besides the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a day allowed them (p. 99). After Lady-day no fires permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and Lord Piercy's and the nursery (p. 101). It is to be observed that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-day. Fifty chalders of coals, at four shillings and twopence a chaldar, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coal will not burn without wood, says the household-book, sixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelpence a load (p. 22). This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an article, "It is devised that from henceforth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and

that the said capons shall be bought for twopence a piece, lean, and fed in the poultry; and master chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them" (p. 102). Pigs are to be bought at threepence or a groat a piece; geese at the same price; chickens at a halfpenny; hens at twopence, and only at the above mentioned tables. Here is another article. "Item, it is thought good that no plovvers be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith, and his board-end, and none other, and to be bought for a penny a piece, or a halfpenny at most" (p. 103). Woodcocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at twopence (pp. 104, 105). Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same (p. 106). My lord keeps only twenty-seven horses in his stable at his own charge; his upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses (p. 126). These horses are six gentle horses, as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year, four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumpter-horses, six horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter-horses more, and three mill-horses—two for carrying the corn and one for grinding it; whence we may infer that mills, either water or wind-mills, were then unknown, at least very rare; besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or wagon. He allows a peck of oats a day, besides loaves made of beans, for his principal horses; the oats at twentypence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay is at two shillings and eightpence. When my lord is on a journey, he carries thirty-six horsemen along with him, together with bed and other accommodation (p. 157). The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country seats, all in Yorkshire, Wrysel, Leckenfield, and Topclyffe; but he has furniture only for one. He carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which, we may conclude, were so coarse that they could not be spoiled by the carriage. Yet seventeen carts and one wagon suffice for the whole (p. 391). One cart suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks' beds, &c. (p. 388). One remarkable circumstance is that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c., belonging to his chapel. Yet he has only two cooks for a family of two hundred and twenty-three persons* (p. 325). Their meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar chief: he does not give any orders, though only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble, "It seemeth good to us and our council." If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultramontane nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English and even the French. Yet the earl is sometimes not deficient in generosity. He pays, for instance, an annual pension of a groat a year to my lady of Walsingham for her interest in heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales (p. 337). No mention is anywhere made of plate, but only of the hiring of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own clothes from their wages.

NOTE [S], p. 506.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined that because a man could purchase for a shilling an indulgence for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, there must necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morality, and consequently of civil society, from the practices of the Romish church. They do not consider that after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (besides hell-fire) the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world, and secret remorse of conscience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philosophy of Cicero, who allowed of Elysium, but rejected all Tartarus, was a much more universal indulgence than that preached by Arcemboldi or Tetzels; yet nobody will suspect Cicero of any design to promote immorality. The sale of indulgences seems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely abolishing purgatory, did really, instead of partial indulgences sold by the pope, give, gratis, a general indulgence of a similar nature for all crimes and offences without exception or distinction. The souls once consigned to hell were never supposed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one instance of a damned soul that was saved, and that by the special intercession of the Virgin (see Pascal's Provincial Letters). An indulgence saved the person who purchased it from purgatory only.

* In another place mention is made of four cooks (p. 338). But I suppose that the two servants called, in p. 325, groom of the larder and child of the scullery are, in p. 388, comprehended in the number of cooks.

NOTE [T], p. 516.

It is said that when Henry heard that the Commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had considerable influence on the House; and he, being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: "Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" and, laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off." This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded; for next day the bill passed (Collins's British Peerage; Grove's Life of Wolsey). We are told by Hall (fol. 38) that Cardinal Wolsey endeavored to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly that "it were better that some should suffer indigence than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads." Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

NOTE [U], p. 550.

The first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legatine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's consent and permission, could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him, as crimes, particular actions which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority: such as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made through him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king, as if he had been his fellow, "the king and I." It is reported that sometimes he even put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex meus*. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general, and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far as to affirm that no man ever fell from so high a station who had so few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favorable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwell, and their being rejected by a House of Commons even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolsey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his destruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the statute of provisors, which afforded him so little just hold on that minister. For that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in Parliament appears by Cavendish's Life of Wolsey and Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment them, selves (Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 42, article 7; Coke's Inst. pt. 4, fol. 89).

NOTE [X], p. 556.

Even judging of this question by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cause appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law; and though it is there said, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating those degrees of consanguinity, had incurred the Divine displeasure, the extension of this maxim to every precise case, before specified, is supposing the Scriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precision to which we know with certainty the sacred penmen did not think proper to confine themselves. The descent of mankind from one common father obliged them, in the first generation, to marry in the nearest degrees of consanguinity; instances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs, and the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cases, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a positive precept by the Mosaic law. It is in vain to say that this precept was an exception to the rule, and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwise God, who is the author of all purity, would never in any case have enjoined it.

NOTE [Y], p. 564.

Bishop Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is, upon the royal

nomination, made Archbishop of Canterbury. By a second, directed to himself, he is also made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is directed to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was sent him. By an eleventh the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were so many devices to draw fees to offices which the popes had erected and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country, and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict sincerity and that scrupulous conscience of which Cranmer made profession (Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. No. 33; Burnet, vol. i. pp. 128, 129).

NOTE [Z], p. 576.

Here are the terms in which the king's minister expressed himself to the pope: *An non, inquam, sanctitas vestra plerosque habet quibuscum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi. Væ namque illis, si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent (Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 113).* The king once said publicly, before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was master. *Et qu'il n'y auroit si belle tête qu'il ne fit voler (id. p. 218).*

NOTE [AA], p. 599.

This letter contains so much nature, and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity without any alteration in the expression. It is as follows:

"Sir,—Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favor) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honor, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favor from me: neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favor in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

"Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

NOTE [BB], p. 607.

A proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the lesser monasteries, and had been much opposed by Bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren that this was fairly showing the king the way how he might come at the greater monasteries. "An axe," said he, "which wanted a handle came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made it his request to them that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the wood to make him a handle; who, mistrusting no guile, granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a handle. But now, becoming a complete axe, he fell so to work within the same wood that, in process of time, there was neither great nor small trees to be found in the place where the wood stood. And so, my lords, if you grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do but make him a handle whereby, at his own pleasure, he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons" (Dr. Baillie's *Life of Bishop Fisher*, p. 108).

NOTE [CC], p. 617.

There is a curious passage, with regard to the suppression of monasteries, to be found in Coke's *Institutes*, 4th inst., chap. 1, p. 44. It is worth transcribing, as it shows the ideas of the English government entertained during the reign of Henry VIII., and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke when he wrote his *Institutes*. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burdens of government. A large standing army and a fixed revenue would, on these conditions, have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is "Advice concerning New and Plausible Projects and offers in Parliament." "When any plausible project," says he, "is made in Parliament, to draw the Lords and Commons to assent to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance), if both Houses do give upon the matter projected and promised their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being trusted for the commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the Houses to consent) to be established in the same act, least the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never be performed, and so the Houses of Parliament perform not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign of Henry the Eighth; on the king's behalf, the members of both Houses were informed in Parliament that no king or kingdom was safe but where the king had three abilities: 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants. Now the project was, that if the Parliament would give unto him all the abbeys, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monasteries, that forever in time then to come he would take order that the same should not be converted into private uses, but first that his exchequer, for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a con-

tinual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders ; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards (as was projected), in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids ; fourthly, lest the honor of the realm should receive any diminution of honor by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine lords of Parliament of the abbots and priors (that held of the king *per baroniam*, whereof more in the next leaf), that the king would create a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers acts of Parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project or any part thereof."

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